THE LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF MAINE

Gift of

Bowdoin College Library

p 441 S Rev of Lit

LIBRARY
UNIV OF MAINE

LIBRARY
UNIV OF MAINE

PROFESSIONAL PATRIOTS

LIBRARY
UNIV OF MAINE

LIBRARY
UNIV OF MAINE

PROFESSIONAL PATRIOTS

Edited by
NORMAN HAPGOOD

Material assembled by
SIDNEY HOWARD *and* JOHN HEARLEY

AN EXPOSURE OF THE PERSONALITIES, METHODS AND OBJECTIVES INVOLVED IN THE ORGANIZED EFFORT TO EXPLOIT PATRIOTIC IMPULSES IN THESE UNITED STATES DURING AND AFTER THE LATE WAR.

NEW YORK
ALBERT & CHARLES BONI
1927

Copyright, 1927, by Albert & Charles Boni, Inc.

LIBRARY
UNIV OF MAINE

Printed in the United States of America

ENDORSEMENT

Patriotism, a word much abused, deserves a clear exposition of the purposes of those who use it. It is for this reason that we welcome this study of the aims, activities and personnel of those self-styled patriotic organizations engaged professionally in promoting their conception of the country's welfare.

The quotations from the literature of these organizations speak for themselves. Insofar as they promote devotion to the interests of the people of the country and an intelligent understanding of its political institutions, they are to be commended. Insofar as their activities represent priviliged interests masquerading as patriots, and insofar as they inspire suppression of those with whom they disagree, their activities should be condemned as hostile to the country's interests.

It is of course understood that the endorsers were not responsible for the investigation itself, nor have they all read its findings. They are in sympathy with its purpose and approach, believing such an inquiry should be given the widest possible hearing.

v 227655

Alice Stone Blackwell, Boston, Mass.
Harry Elmer Barnes, Smith College.
Prof. Phillips Bradley, Amherst College.
Bishop Chauncey B. Brewster, Hartford, Conn.
John Graham Brooks, Cambridge, Mass.
John Brophy, Clearfield, Pa.
Dr. Richard C. Cabot, Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. F. A. Cleveland, Boston Univ.
Prof. Francis W. Coker, Ohio State University.
Pres. Norman F. Coleman, Reed College.
Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, Washington, D. C.
Herbert Croly, New York City.
Prof. H. J. Davenport, Cornell University.
Prof. Jerome Davis, Yale Univ.
Edward T. Devine, Washington, D. C.
Prof. John Dewey, New York City.
Prof. R. C. Dexter, Skidmore College.
Prof. Paul Douglas, University of Chicago.
Mary Dreier, New York City.
W. E. B. Dubois, New York City.
Fred Eastman, Chicago, Ill.
Prof. H. A. Eaton, Syracuse Univ.
Sherwood Eddy, New York City.
Prof. Thomas D. Eliot, Northwestern Univ.
John Lovejoy Elliott, New York City.
Prof. C. A. Ellwood, Univ. of Mo.
Charles T. Ennis, Lyons, N. Y.
Prof. C. O. Fisher, Wesleyan Univ.
Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, New York City.
Prof. Felix Frankfurter, Harvard Law School.
Senator L. J. Frazier, Hoople, N. Dak.
Zona Gale, Portage, Wisc.
Prof. Karl F. Geiser, Oberlin, Ohio.
Prof. Max Handman, University of Texas.
Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Washington, D. C.
Prof. E. C. Hayes, Univ. of Ill.
Robert Herrick, York Village, Maine.
Prof. A. N. Holcombe, Harvard Univ.
Congressman Geo. W. Huddleston, Birmingham, Ala.
Henry T. Hunt, New York City.
Paul Hutchinson, Winnetka, Ill.
Prof. L. H. Jenks, Rollins College.
Rev. Burris A. Jenkins, Kansas City, Mo.
Prof. David Starr Jordan, Stanford University.
Francis Fisher Kane, Philadelphia, Pa.
Paul Kellogg, New York City.
Prof. W. S. Knickerbocker, Univ. of the South.
Prof. Frank H. Knight, Univ. of Iowa.
Congressman F. H. LaGuardia, New York City.

Prof. William Ellery Leonard, Univ. of Wisc.
Dean William Draper Lewis, Univ. of Penna.
Prof. E. C. Lindeman, Highbridge, N. J.
Judge Ben. B. Lindsey, Denver, Colo.
Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, New York City.
Rev. Halford E. Luccock, New York City.
Prof. C. C. Maxey, Whitman College.
Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Lucia Ames Mead, Brookline, Mass.
Prof. H. A. Miller, Ohio State Univ.
Prof. Underhill Moore, Columbia University Law School.
Pres. William A. Neilson, Smith College.
Fremont Older, San Francisco, Calif.
Prof. William A. Orton, Smith College.
Prof. Max C. Otto, Madison, Wisc.
Prof. Harry A. Overstreet, New York City.
Jessica B. Peixotto, Berkeley, Calif.
James D. Phelan, San Francisco, Calif.
Amos Pinchot, New York City.
Prof. Louise Pound, Lincoln, Nebr.
Mrs. Raymond Robins, Chicago, Ill.
Raymond Robins, Chicago, Ill.
Prof. Edward A. Ross, Univ. of Wisc.
Father John A. Ryan, Washington, D. C.
Dean William Scarlett, St. Louis, Mo.
Prof. Ferdinand Schevill, Chicago, Ill.
Prof. A. M. Schlesinger, Harvard Univ.
Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell Univ.
Prof. Vida D. Scudder, Wellesley College.
John F. Sinclair, Minneapolis, Minn.
Dean M. Carey Thomas, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Samuel Untermyer, New York City.
Senator Thos. J. Walsh, Helena, Mont.
Prof. U. G. Weatherly, Indiana Univ.
Senator B. K. Wheeler, Butte, Mont.
William Allen White, Emporia, Kans.
Prof. J. M. Williams, Hobart College.
Peter Witt, Cleveland, Ohio.
H. B. Woolston, Seattle, Wash.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	ENDORSEMENT	v
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	THE ORGANIZATIONS COVERED	8
III.	PROPAGANDA AGAINST RADICALISM AND PACIFISM	13
IV.	SOURCE OF THEIR SUPPORT Financial Appeals.	21
V.	WHAT THEY DO National Civic Federation. National Security League. American Defense Society. American Legion. Local Organizations.	37
VI.	THEIR PROPAGANDA IN PRINT Professional Patriotic Journals.	68
VII.	INTER-RELATIONS AND CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER AGENCIES Relations to Government Officials and Departments. The Spider-Web Chart. The Lusk Committee.	95
VIII.	CONNECTIONS WITH MILITARY MEN AND ORGANIZATIONS	113
IX.	CONNECTIONS WITH BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS	132
X.	CONNECTIONS WITH ORGANIZED LABOR	140
XI.	CONNECTIONS WITH EDUCATION	146
XII.	DESCRIPTIONS OF CHIEF ORGANIZATIONS	153
	APPENDIX The Attackers and the Attacked.	191
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	205
	INDEX	211

PROFESSIONAL PATRIOTS

PROFESSIONAL PATRIOTS

I

INTRODUCTION

Experience has crystallized in the saying that in a war the two sides tend to borrow qualities from each other. The World War seems to strengthen that idea. Central Europe, which had been suffering from too much authority, is now on the whole struggling up the rugged and winding path of freedom. Meantime some of the victorious powers seem to be subjecting the individual to more constraint than before the conflict. The business of this volume, however, is with the United States.

If we are threatened with a departure from that confidence in freedom which is illustrated by the declaration of independence, the Virginia statute of religious freedom, the constitution; by the personalities of Jefferson and Lincoln; by such men of our own day as Charles William Eliot and Justices Holmes and Brandeis, why then, the best step to be taken by those who do still believe in freedom is to hold up to the light the exact facts about what is taking place. Jefferson never tired of declaring that if there were opportunity to spread

all the facts the march of self-government would continue.

This volume does not attempt to deal with all aspects of reaction following the war. It limits itself to that phase of the fight against freedom which masquerades under the name of patriotism. Like any valuable human emotion—like religion, family duty, ambition, thrift—patriotism can easily be seized upon as a popular banner under which to carry on unworthy enterprises which have nothing whatever to do with patriotism in the sense of willingness to make sacrifices for the general good.

Was Jefferson a patriot or a traitor when he dreamed day and night of devices for keeping the individual from becoming the slave of any controlling element? When Hamilton defended the rights of the Tories to their property, and when he regretted the Alien and Sedition Acts, what was he? What was Lincoln when he wrote, in his first inaugural, that famous declaration about the right of the people to alter or overthrow their government? And what is President Ernest Hopkins when he laughs and says he would be glad to have Mr. Trotsky speak at Dartmouth? We hold that these men are not traitors, and that no set of reactionaries has the right to carry on their trade by usurping the name of patriot.

We do not find it useful to sprinkle these organizations with epithets. Rather we prefer to draw their portraits fairly, let in the main their

own words speak for them, mention their precise acts, and bring out the individuals who actually compose their membership. The material has been carefully checked over, both by investigators and by attorneys. The evidence is available on every point. The information has not been brought together before. This is the first attempt to collect it, for the benefit of educators, students, writers, speakers who may concern themselves with the question of whether the ideals that were formulating themselves from Magna Carta to Mazzini, from Patrick Henry to Wilson's first term, are to thrive or wither.

Although the societies that carry on the work of reaction and suppression under the mask of patriotism are numerous, their total membership is small. If we omit the American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan, which were not formed primarily for the purpose we are discussing, the entire membership is not over twenty-five thousand. But that twenty-five thousand possess or represent a large amount of money and a sensitive property nerve.

Those who read carefully what we here present will see that not all the societies are on exactly the same plane. A few are honest, in the sense that they are composed of persons who are not trying to make the world safe for money under the pretense of making it safe from disorder. The membership of these actually does tremble, without self-interest of a money kind, over what is

likely to happen to society if the members of it are permitted to look at facts and ideas without correcting lenses. Most of the organizations, especially the smaller ones, are backed, as the reader will see, by promoters who play on the fears of the property class in general, or the fears of some single wealthy old gentleman who is kept awake at night by Bolshevism, or on the fears of army officers that the world they are brought up to believe in is threatened by radical meetings, especially if those meetings are held in parlors.

It may be said that these societies are not worth such an exposure as is presented here. With that laissez-faire attitude we do not quite agree. It is an old and sound notion that those who love liberty must not spend all their time asleep. Freedom does not flourish unless a good many people are in love with it. A stagnant mood helps the fundamentalists and the reactionaries. They are always busy. The liberals, if they do their job, should be busy also.

Some of the persons who are carrying on the propaganda which we regret have clear enough aims. They seek to instill the idea that what is meant by patriotism is devotion to business privilege and to the open shop; that law, private violence and officials should put down what under this definition is unpatriotic; that the only approach to our large new industrial questions, being threshed out between capital and labor, is suppression of one side of the argument.

These societies, in their present form of activity, have all been born since the beginning of the war. It is true that the Civic Federation was organized in 1901, but it was not until after the war that it endeavored to promote its economic preferences under the name of patriotism. It is fair to say, then, that whatever is happening in more harassed and shaken countries, in this large, rich, enormously powerful land it is only since the war that we see the phenomenon of a widely organized attempt to identify patriotism with the fear of ideas.

The societies herein discussed are the following: Allied Patriotic Societies, American Constitutional Association, American Citizenship Foundation, American Defense Society, Better America Federation, Civil Legion, Military Intelligence Association, Military Order of the World War, National Security League, National Civic Federation, National Patriotic Council, National Association for Constitutional Government, National Clay Products Association, Constitutional Anniversary Association, Sentinels of the Republic, United States Patriotic Society, United States Flag Association, the Women Builders of America, and several minor organizations.

From the most excusable to the most mercenary they vary in the shade of their morals and their intelligence. What puts them all into the same discussion is that they all participate in the attempt to make of a noble word and emo-

tion the handmaid of greed and cowardice. A reader who doubts the connection between business and this breed of patriotism has only to look in the following pages for lists such as the organizations backing the movement in West Virginia, at the number of the backers who are in the business of manufacturing munitions. The outstanding fact is that this persistent propaganda to degrade the name of patriotism to the service of the dollar has its most important support among those who make money out of war and of holding down standards of labor.

That the intellect going into the publications of these organizations is low we are constrained to admit. For example, as a reason for alarm, it is stated by the United States Flag Association, with many big names behind it, that while Debs polled only 100,000 votes in 1920, Foster polled half a million in 1924. The fact is, of course, that Debs received nearly a million and Foster barely thirty-three thousand. So the Flag Association's prediction, put vaguely into the mouths of communists, that the vote of 1928 will run to four or five million, is based on premises that are peculiar. And yet, the persons who have approved the Flag Association include among others, Elbert H. Gary, the late Samuel Gompers, Chief Justice William Howard Taft, Admiral William S. Sims and Honorable Thomas R. Marshall.

Even the President is not conservative enough

for the typical professional patrioteer. After Mr. Coolidge freed the remaining war-prisoners the Better America Federation of Los Angeles observed: "Is it any wonder that right-minded Americans should feel that reasoning is rapidly reaching the limit?" Persons like that should not be prevented from emitting their thoughts, but those who can stand a more bracing intellectual atmosphere should try to keep our civilization from tending down to where it may seem safe for morons.

Maeterlinck, explaining that there is always an oversupply of conservatism, says "Every progressive spirit is opposed by a thousand men appointed to guard the past. . . . The least that the most timid among us can do is not to add to the immense deadweight that nature drags along."

NORMAN HAPGOOD.

II

THE ORGANIZATIONS COVERED

The organizations which concern themselves with putting over a type of patriotism that stands for things as they are, defending the existing property and political system without change, and attacking all radicals, reformers, and free speech advocates as agents of revolution, are divided into two groups: first, the new crop which has arisen in the last ten years inspired by the war and the Russian Revolution; and the older patriotic societies or those organized for other purposes which have taken on this job as a side-line.

The new type of professional patriotic enterprise is of three sorts: those which operate nationally, those confined to a section of the country, and those which are not really organizations at all, but represent some one patriot's enthusiasm, backed by a few friends or followers.

Of the organizations of some size operating nationally, there are three: the National Security League, the American Defense Society, and the National Civic Federation. The Security League came into existence in 1914 to put this country on a preparedness basis and into the war. The American Defense Society with similar objects began its career in 1915. The Civic Federation,

organized in 1900 to reconcile capital and labor, took on its patriotic anti-radical activities chiefly after the war.

There are several sectional organizations. The most active and highly organized is the Better America Federation of Los Angeles, which in reality represents the open shop interests of southern California. It has tried to extend its work outside the State and into northern California, but without much success. The American Constitutional Association with headquarters at Charleston, West Virginia, is also an employers' body, organized in 1920 to defend the interests of the coal operators and "to promote the open shop principle." The Massachusetts Public Interests League is another employers' organization, started in 1924 to defeat the child labor amendment in the State, where it was submitted to referendum vote. A different type is the Military Intelligence Association of the Sixth Corps Area with headquarters in Chicago, organized in 1924 by United States Reserve Officers. It expends most of its efforts in combating pacifism, especially among women. There is also the American Citizenship Foundation of Chicago organized in 1923 to promote Americanization among factory employees.

In Boston a little organization recently (1926) formed is the Industrial Defense Association, evidently destined for a very brief existence.

The organizations, which are virtually one-man

affairs unlikely to continue beyond the individual's enthusiasm, are: The Allied Patriotic Societies, headed by Dwight D. Braman of New York City, a pretentious but ineffective federation, entirely on paper; the U. S. Patriotic Society, organized by Jacob Cash, New York City, in 1925, also mostly on paper; the United States Flag Association, and the Sentinels of the Republic with headquarters in Washington. The Government Club, New York, an organization of women, holding monthly patriotic luncheons at the Hotel Astor, broadcast by WEAF, and presided over by Mrs. George E. Owens, is also of this type, as is the Women Builders of America.

In the same class with these have been several publications—The New York *Commercial*,* a daily afternoon paper of 12,220 circulation, which ran a Searchlight Department under the editorship of Fred R. Marvin, whose sole enthusiasm is attacking all radical and reform movements, including organized labor; the *Woman Patriot*, a bi-weekly published in Washington, D. C., by J. S. Eichelberger; and the now defunct *Progress in Industry* (later called *Industrial Progress*), also published in Washington from 1920 to 1923 by Henry Harrison Lewis, now devoting his efforts to "Better Understanding Between Industry and Agriculture," backed by William H. Barr, President of the National Founders Association, which in turn publishes in coöperation with the National Metal

* See footnote, p. 90.

Trades Association a monthly called *The Open Shop Review,* full of "red-peril" propaganda.

One enthusiast whose efforts have not yet been incorporated is a Philadelphia stock-broker, Francis Ralston Welsh, who has published anti-radical, anti-progressive, anti-labor pamphlets of his own, drawn chiefly from the Lusk Committee Report and R. M. Whitney's "Reds in America."

Government officials who have joined in the campaign for this brand of patriotism were Attorney General Palmer in 1919 and 1920; Attorney General Daugherty from 1921 to 1923, ably aided by his chief of the secret service, William J. Burns, Major-General Amos L. Fries of the Chemical Warfare Division of the War Department, aided by his librarian, Miss Lucia Maxwell; and chief of them all, the New York State Commission for Investigating Seditious Activities, authorized by the 1919 Legislature, and familiarly known as the Lusk Committee, from the name of its chairman, Senator Clayton R. Lusk. The attorney to the committee, Archibald E. Stevenson, wrote its four-volume report published in 1920, from which most of the inspiration for the later activities of many organizations has come.

A group of military officers and organizations have been active in attacking pacifists and the opponents of compulsory military training in colleges and schools—usually on the familiar thesis that pacifism is aimed at destroying American defenses against Bolshevism. The military organi-

zations most active are the Reserve Officers' Association, the Military Order of the World War —both national in scope—and one local association in Chicago, the Military Intelligence Association of the Sixth Corps Area.

This covers the newer type of organizations and individuals engaged in professional patriotism. Of the older types active now and then in the new crusade, or organizations devoted to other purposes which have taken it on, two only are nationally conspicuous—the American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan. Various employers' associations, notably the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Clay Products Industries Association, Inc., the National Founders Association, the National Metal Trades Association, and various state and local "associated industries," have been active occasionally when aroused by some such revolutionary proposal as the child labor amendment. The Sons of the American Revolution, the Daughters of 1812, and the Daughters of the American Revolution have also been sporadically active when stimulated by the Military Order of the World War or some more hysterical post of the American Legion.

III

PROPAGANDA AGAINST RADICALISM AND PACIFISM

The most conspicuous activity of all the professional patriotic societies is their propaganda against what they conceive to be revolutionary movements. Their conception is vague and inclusive, ranging from the Communist Party to the child labor amendment and proposals for municipal ownership of public utilities. Pacifism comes under the ban on the theory that any movement against war is intended to disarm the United States and so open the country to capture by Russia.

The conceptions of radicalism vary with the societies. The center of attack is of course the communist movement and all friends of Soviet Russia. But from that center have radiated attacks on socialists, the LaFollette progressive movement, the church peace organizations, liberal magazines and reform agencies, and particularly on proposals calculated to affect private business,—notably the child labor amendment and protective laws for women.

Here are some characteristic utterances and statements. Ralph M. Easley, chairman of the

National Civic Federation, writing to Allen Wardwell, chairman of the executive committee of the Russian Famine Fund in 1922, on which served such citizens as Governor Alfred Smith, Cornelius Bliss, Jr., William Fellows Morgan, Charles W. Eliot and Cyrus H. McCormick, delivered himself thus:

> "If the people who are contributing to the Russian Famine Fund understood that their money was going to be used by Lenin and Trotsky, contributions would soon cease." He added that he had "turned the matter over to the Department of Justice."

When Mr. Easley was interviewed by Miss Mary Lena Wilson concerning his attacks on the American Committee for the Relief of Russian Children, he indulged in characteristic language, referring to Captain Paxton Hibben, its secretary, as "a rascal and scoundrel," to the Reverend John Haynes Holmes as "wild and crazy," to the Reverend Henry Sloane Coffin as a "red" because he "founded that Labor Temple down there," and to Raymond B. Fosdick as "a wild red."

Some of Mr. Easley's other characterizations are interesting: the former Mrs. Willard Straight he referred to as "the most dangerous woman in America"; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers as "the Balkans of America, as revolutionary as anything in Europe"; eighty-year-old Mrs. Henry Villard as "a most notorious pro-German and leader of the non-resistance forces in this country

at a time when they played into Germany's hands."

He is quoted as saying: "I would drive every damned Quaker out of America," and "There are plenty of damned liberals in this country who are just as ready to believe Will Irwin as they are to believe the Government." Mr. Irwin had written up Mr. Easley in a magazine article entitled "This Man Worries Too Much."

Among the persons and movements publicly attacked by Mr. Easley are: Father John A. Ryan of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; the Reverend Iddings Bell, president of St. Stephens College; Bishop Charles H. Brent of Buffalo, former chaplain of the American Expeditionary Forces; H. G. Wells for radicalism in his "Outline of History"—"willful misinterpretation of the teachings of Jesus," and the "unpatriotic Tolstoian psychology (sic) of non-resistance."

Mr. Easley's attitude toward the radicals in the labor movement, for which he was deeply concerned in his effort to hold the American Federation of Labor in leash through the Civic Federation's union of employer and trade-unionist, was voiced thus:

"Organized labor has in its own ranks some of the disloyal elements (referred to elsewhere in the article as 'socialists, I.W.W., and their "high-brow" echoers'–Ed.), the pro-German Germans and the anti-English Irish who will play the Potsdam game at every possible opportunity; but disturbances will be reduced to a mini-

mum because there are now plenty of laws and machinery for seeking out these treasonable persons and handing them over to the firing squad.

"To talk about education or Americanization as a method of dealing with such people is a waste of time, effort, and money. Only the fear of the law, backed up by the police, the militia, the Army and Navy if necessary, has any terrors for such terrorists."

So much for Mr. Easley, the most picturesque in speech of all the militant patriots.

The Better America Federation of Los Angeles also speaks up colorfully. In a booklet picturing on its cover a college Bolshevik peeping from a rosebud, the Federation's former secretary says:

"The bomb-throwing, bullet-shooting anarchist does not worry me very much. It is the *subtle, highly intellectual pink variety* that is boring into the very heart of America. Such tragedies as the explosion in Wall Street on last September 16th are horrible—monstrous, but they will never halt our progress as a people. America will carry on, despite Czolgosz, Tom Mooney, the MacNamaras, and their tribe. But when I find a slow poison being secretly injected into our body politic through the *class* rooms, I do worry—*and so should you.*"

In one of the Federation's weekly letters to its members its officers say:

"We are urged to pursue vigorously our Americanization program to hold ourselves in readiness to fight in

the breach all forms of radicalism, communism, and radical socialism. A great many of our members write that radicalism has obtained a toe-hold among teachers in public schools."

The anti-radical propaganda of the Better America Federation has been directed conspicuously against the I.W.W. migratory workers in California, scores of whom have been imprisoned under the criminal syndicalism law for mere membership in the organization. The Federation employed two professional witnesses to testify in these trials.

At a Washington meeting of representatives of most of the patriotic societies engaged in upholding the constitution and combating radicalism, Dr. David Jayne Hill, former ambassador to Germany, thus addressed the late Louis A. Coolidge of Boston, the president of a new organization then holding its first convention, the Sentinels of the Republic:

"I am a Sentinel of the Republic and am very happy to join your great army, Mr. Coolidge. . . . The name you have applied to this organization, Sentinels of the Republic, has in it a sort of battle cry, a sound that ought to cover the whole of us. I do not see any reason why the Sons of the American Revolution and the Daughters and the rest can not all be Sentinels. I think they should be. I believe, Mr. President, that this great movement that you have started offers more hope than anything else I have seen of a possible uniting of

strength and efforts of all these good patriotic people, and if from a central point of view, you and those closely associated with you could indicate what particular lines of work and development could be added to those which these various societies are now doing, it might greatly increase their efficiency. . . . So I say: good cheer, Brother Coolidge, and thank you much for dreaming out this dream of the Sentinels of the Republic. We will march with you. We are assigned to the watch towers where you direct us and God help us to be able to answer when you ask: 'Watchman, tell us of the night,' what we are doing and what we see and that the enemy has been overawed and has retreated." (Applause.)

The most persistent and thorough-going campaign of "exposure" of the forces of progress has appeared daily in the "Searchlight" column of the New York *Commercial,* edited by Fred R. Marvin, who outdoes all the professional patriots in lurid description. He is the author of several booklets whose contents and style may be judged by their titles: "The Menace of Bolshevism," "Underground with the Reds," "Are These Your Friends?" and "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." His column is headed "Data on Subversive Movements Against the American Government; Political and Labor Radicals, Communists and Pinks."

The American Defense Society hasn't bothered to discriminate at all in its onslaught. Note the catholicity of one of its circular letters appealing for funds:

"Do you know that the radical's battle cry is 'To Hell with the government, to Hell with the law, to Hell with the right of any person to be possessed of any property?' Hundreds of thousands of Reds in the United States, all Comrades, no matter under which banner they march—Anarchists, Bolshevists, I.W.W.'s—all the same. . . . The Reds' next weapon is the general strike, the first one they win spells the beginning of the end. Professional criminals will coöperate with them."

The Better America Federation of Los Angeles goes the Defense Society one better in describing as "bolshevistic" even the public water works and public service commissions. Says the Federation in a bulletin headed "S.O.S.," which, it appears, means "save our state":

"We believe that the protection of private property and of private business is vital to the progress of this State. We believe that public ownership and public control of business through a multiplicity of boards and commissions is socialistic and bolshevistic in tendency."

Although the Better America Federation levels its guns most openly at reds and pinks, it fights at heart on the front of protection for privilege. Its support comes largely from the power companies and public utilities of southern California, and it serves them in the guise of a disinterested patriotism. In the course of these efforts it almost defeated in the legislature a bill to make corporations bear their fair share of the taxes.

It also attacked William Kent, former member of Congress, as a Bolshevik when he ran in 1920 for the Republican nomination for senator.

This mixture of patriotism, anti-radicalism, and privileged business runs through the larger and stronger organizations. With the exception of the National Security League only the small fry are patriots on principle. The National Civic Federation, for example, represents conservative business in its opposition to minimum wage laws, child labor laws, old age pensions, and welfare legislation.

IV

SOURCE OF THEIR SUPPORT

None of the organizations makes public its contributors. None makes any public financial report of income and expenditures, not even to its own members. All financial operations are enveloped in secrecy. All of them have refused to give the facts to interested inquirers. Some have refused to give them even to members of their own committees, holding that those facts concern the executive committee alone. Only two of the organizations are endorsed by the National Information Bureau, an agency for advising prospective contributors about the trustworthiness and management of organizations making public appeals for funds. They are the National Security League and the National Association for Constitutional Government. The others have either refused to give information, or hold that they do not make public appeals for funds. Their appeals to selected lists are apparently not regarded as public.

This situation makes it difficult to state accurately where they do get their money. They spend at the lowest estimate $250,000 a year, that estimate being based on the size of their offices, the number of salaried employees, and the amount of printing they do. The personnel of their com-

mittees indicates that most of the money comes from very wealthy business men and corporations. Some proof has come to light to show these sources.

The Congressional investigation of the National Security League in 1919, undertaken because the League had spent large sums in trying to defeat Congressmen whose patriotism was not of the League's brand, showed among the larger contributors ranging from "$700 to $30,000":

Nicholas F. Brady, President of the New York Edison Company; H. H. Rogers, of the Standard Oil Company and allied interests; William K. Vanderbilt, Director in several dozen big corporations; T. Coleman DuPont, of the DuPont Powder Company; Henry C. Frick, of the Carnegie Steel Company; George W. Perkins, of the United States Steel Corporation; Simon and Daniel Guggenheim, of Guggenheim Bros., and the American Smelting and Refining Company; J. Pierpont Morgan and John D. Rockefeller.

It is noteworthy that the list of the largest contributors includes many men whose businesses profit directly from the sale of war supplies.

The Congressional committee report on that point said:

"If the curtain were only pulled back, in addition to the interests heretofore enumerated, the hands of Rockefeller, of Vanderbilt, of Morgan, of Remington, of DuPont, and of Guggenheim would be seen, suggesting steel, oil, money bags, Russian bonds, rifles, powder, and rail-

roads.''—(H. of R. 65th Congress, 3d session, Report No. 1173—Investigation of National Security League, p. 6.)

The Security League at that time was spending about $100,000 a year, although in 1918, in view of the congressional campaign and the entrance of the League into politics, its expenditures reached the sum of $235,667.56. Its budget has since been greatly reduced. For three years ending in 1919 the Carnegie Corporation gave the League $50,000 a year.

The National Civic Federation numbers among its heaviest supporters Mr. Finley J. Shepard and his wife, the former Helen Gould, and V. Everit Macy of the Central Union Trust Company. The late August Belmont, who made his fortune in street railways, was also a large contributor. One trade union member of the Federation's executive committee, who does not wish to be quoted publicly, states that Judge Elbert H. Gary of the United States Steel Corporation has been ''one of the Federation's financial angels.'' The position of a trade unionist on a board with anti-union employers backing the work is, of course, somewhat delicate.

The American Defense Society stated in 1924 that it had 1,080 contributors scattered in 44 states and the District of Columbia. Its chairman, Mr. Elon H. Hooker of the Hooker Electro-Chemical Company, manufacturers of chemicals used in warfare, is a director of many corpora-

tions that doubtless assist directly or indirectly. Mr. Hooker solicited funds for the Society on the stationery of his company. Mr. Franklin Remington, chairman of the Finance Committee, is a director of the Great Western Chemical Corporation.

The American Constitutional Association in West Virginia, and the Better America Federation at Los Angeles are both employers' organizations whose patriotism is frankly identified with their private interests. Naturally they are supported by those who profit from their activities. In the case of the Constitutional Association, an interesting piece of testimony as to who gave and how much, came out in a suit brought by a professional solicitor named Kirk, who thought he had not received all the commissions due him. The testimony showed that Judge Gary, whose company operates the largest single coal business in West Virginia, gave $5,000 in 1921, with this letter:

UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION
Chairman's Office

New York, May 11th, 1921.

Dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 2nd instant. It was placed before our Finance Committee on yesterday, when it was decided to make a contribution of $5,000 toward the work of the American Constitutional Society, with the understanding that the money is not to be used for any political purpose, but with the

sole object of assisting and maintaining American institutions.

I am enclosing herewith check for $5,000 together with voucher, which you are requested to have signed and returned to this office.

Very truly yours,

E. H. GARY.

Hon. Edwin M. Keatley, Secy.,
American Constitutional Assn.,
House of Delegates,
Charleston, W. Va.

The evidence also showed the following contributors to the maintenance of the Constitution:

Pocahontas Coal Co.	$3,360
Wm. McKell Coal Co.	465
Carnegie Gas Co.	300
West Virginian Utilities Co.	260
Harry Bowen, of the Bowen Coal Co. of Bramwell	250
William Ord, president of a coal company in McDowell Co.	250
Bottom Creek Coal Co.	250
Crystal Block Coal Co. (a subsidiary of U. S. Coal Co.)	250
Manufacturers' Light & Heat Co.	200
Col. Leckie of the Leckie Coal Co.	100
Atwater & Co., coal buyers	100
Dollar Savings Bank of Wheeling	100
Walker Peterson, president of Warwood Tool Co.	60
Dry Fork Colliery Co. of Bluefield	50
West Virginia Natural Gas Co., Wheeling	50
	$6,045

Other contributors named in the proceedings were the Consolidation Coal Company (a Rockefeller property), the Wheeling Steel Corporation, which gave $2,000, the Elkhorn Coal & Coke Co., the Empire Coal & Coke Co. and the Raleigh Smokeless Fuel Company. All these were con-

tributors in 1920. They clearly prove the character of this particular brand of patriotic concern for the Constitution and "American institutions."

In the case of the Better America Federation, some direct evidence is at hand from public hearings in 1922 before the California Commission on Immigration and Housing, reported by Franklin Hichborn. After citing the fact that the Southern California Edison Company contributed $3,000 a year, he says:

"Thus, in 1920, the San Joaquin Light and Power Company subscribed $300 to the Better America Federation out of 'surplus,' and charged an additional contribution of $15 to 'miscellaneous general expenses.' 'Miscellaneous general expenses' are operating expenses. The following year, 1921, the company allowed the Federation $300 out of surplus and $6 as a 'miscellaneous general expense.' No protest followed these $15 and $6 feelers-out. The company evidently concluded it was safe to make its Better America Federation contribution an operating expense. At any rate, the next year the company boldly so charged its entire $300 contribution to the Better America Federation.

The Southern California Edison Company has its $3,000-a-year Better America Federation contribution more carefully covered up. The $3,000, given in $250-a-month installments, was in 1921, and again in 1922, charged to 'miscellaneous general office supplies and expense,' all of which are finally included in operating expenses. The contribution is made to the Los Angeles 'Americanization Fund.' This so-called Los Angeles 'Americanization Fund' is supported by pledges ag-

gregating $160,000 a year for five years, $800,000 in all, for the support of the Better America Federation."

Mr. Hichborn calls attention to the fact that all these contributions are passed on in charges to consumers.

As for the American Legion we have certain evidence on the character of its backers in a letter written on the letterhead of Swift and Company, December 26, 1919, and addressed to certain corporations:

"At a meeting held on December 23, 1919, presided over by Mr. Thomas E. Wilson, here were present representatives of the different stock yard interests and it was voted that they contribute $10,000 towards a campaign for funds for the American Legion. A national drive is being made for the Legion and the amount asked from Illinois is $100,000, Mr. James B. Forgan, Chairman of the First National Bank, being treasurer of the fund for Illinois. . . . We are all interested in the Legion, the results it will obtain, and the ultimate effect in helping to offset radicalism. It is important that we assist this worthy work and at the meeting I was asked by the Chairman to write to the different stock yard interests for their contribution. In pro-rating the amount, it was suggested that we use an arbitrary percentage as a basis and the amount you are asked to contribute is $100."

In much the same matter the new American Citizenship Foundation is supported by substantial Chicago capitalists (see page 159).

Taking the whole group of patriotic societies,

both the national and local, the general and the employers', it is clear that they are supported mainly by business interests. The connections of their directing committee members, shown in the list on page 22, makes that evident. In addition, there are of course many members paying small amounts who genuinely believe in the disinterestedness of the organization. Of all the organizations the National Security League has the widest basis of support and is less identified with big business interests than in its early years. Its program is genuine, though of course reactionary, in its insistence on things as they are.

Of course it should be clear that support by interests fearful of change does not mean that they themselves have actively promoted the organizations. Rather the state of fear has produced a situation which could be capitalized to advantage by either skillful promoters or by intense enthusiasts. The officers who run the organizations are clearly one of two types—either promoters out for a good job which gives them also the gratification of public attention—and a salary—or sincere enthusiasts thoroughly alarmed at the menace of radical ideas to property interests and what they conceive to be our "form of government."

FINANCIAL APPEALS

Despite the fact that most of the income of these professionally patriotic bodies comes from busi-

ness men, corporations, and wealthy givers in fairly large amounts, public appeals for membership and funds are made by most of them. What proportion is so raised by circulars and leaflets is impossible to estimate, but the character of the literature of appeal throws light on the type of patriotism they are most eager to serve. And it shows what they think will bring in the money.

The National Security League, which appeals widely for dollar memberships (and over) heads its appeal:

"For an AMERICAN AMERICA and law and order," or,
"For a better, safer and more prosperous America."

It pledges that the money will be used to increase "respect for constitutional government and in opposing socialism, communism, and Bolshevism." In one letter it asks:

"Are you willing to help match, for AMERICAN PROPAGANDA, what the Communists are spending for anti-American propaganda?", asserting that "if the Bolsheviki are spending over $90,000 a month in England, it can be safely assumed that they are spending over a $1,000,000 a year here."

Another Security League appeal offers members a chance to save America's soul. It reads:

"Help save America! America is in danger of losing her soul. The National Security League offers you the

means of putting forth your individual force to help save it. Will you do this by giving us," etc.

In the spring of 1926, Major General R. L. Bullard, President of the National Security League, was asking every man who served in the military and naval forces of the United States during the World War, to become a member because "revolutionary radicalism, having so much money, is so boastful of its aims on our side, as well as on the other side of the world."

The Major General points out that the chief purpose of his League is "resistance of revolutionary radicalism" and tells how the League "has been in the past six months especially effective in resisting the efforts of pacifists and religious extremists to throw military training out of the schools and colleges."

In a letter mailed about the same time to Reserve Officers, he reports that "hundreds of officers of the Army, Navy, and the National Guard have joined us. . . . If these men, realizing the need of our work, can afford from their meager income, to join with us, we believe that you as a citizen and a Reserve Officer, will be glad to help our work in a similar way."

The same appeal to fear of the reds is voiced by the American Defense Society. It argues that:

"The efforts and dollars of loyal citizens must be matched with the forces of the Reds and the large sums at their disposal."

To encourage giving, the leaflet predicts imminent revolution, saying:

"The radicals have not yet declared open warfare. Government officials state that their information is that the revolution has been planned to follow the Presidential election. This winter (1920) will be the decisive time for the success or defeat of the Reds," etc. "Make your check payable to Robert Appleton, Treas."

An appeal to business men telling them frankly what the Society claimed to do in the prosecution of Communists for their political opinions is contained in the following paragraphs addressed on the letterhead of the American Defense Society, April 9, 1924:

"It is not too much to say that the Prosecuting Attorneys were greatly assisted in their successful conduct of the trial of Foster and Ruthenberg, leaders of the Communist Party, by the American Defense Society. We have a letter to this effect from the Prosecuting Attorneys.

"Our Washington Office has become the Mecca for all those individuals and organizations seeking information regarding activities of Radicalism in America.

"We need money, however, to carry this work along," etc.

"As a patriotic American will you not help us financially in this work of defense of America by subscribing either for yourself or the business with which you may be connected, as much as you feel you can possibly spare?"

It remained for a newcomer in the field of professional patriotism, the United States Flag Association, organized in 1924, to make the first all-inclusive appeal. It says:

"Some of us belong to a half a dozen or more patriotic societies but our mail-carrier who delivers to us every day our mail cannot belong to them, because he cannot meet their particular qualifications for membership; nor can he afford to pay initiation fees and annual dues which to him are considerable. But your mail-carrier and yourself, and Mrs. Vanderbilt and her cook, and Mr. Rockefeller and the man who sweeps the street in front of his house, can all belong to the United States Flag Association, the big, democratic, patriotic association, destined to become THE GREAT AMERICAN PATRIOTIC SOCIETY. It will be the great agency of the Nation, potent and far-reaching, for the building-up of Peace-Time Patriotism."

The Better America Federation, though heavily backed by corporations, goes after members extensively. The "red menace" appeal is apparently relied upon to produce the best results. One pamphlet of exposés of the radical plot to overthrow the government is entitled "Behind the Veil," though most of its material, where accurate, could be secured from radical publications for fifty cents. Another money-getting folder in red, white, and blue is entitled "Are you an American or ?." It includes extracts from I.W.W. songs and quotations from radical jour-

nals, all in red ink, with a pledge at the bottom. The signer, who contributes to this employers' body at the same time, agrees to

"oppose all organizations or individuals who openly or covertly, directly or indirectly, give aid, comfort, or support to the doctrines, practices or purposes of the Bolsheviki, the I.W.W. or kindred organizations, or who do not give undivided allegiance to our flag and the great principles of constitutional free government of which it is the emblem."

When the business crowd behind the Better America Federation want to do a political job that might embarrass that organization, they set up machinery under another name. The Citizens Committee of Ten Thousand (actually a few score) is one of them, devoted solely to campaigning for the "right men" from Los Angeles in the legislature and Congress.

A circular appeal from that committee to business men in February, 1924, puts its job plainly:

"Laws which are detrimental to business, or injure you, the members of your family, or the community in which you live, can be prevented.

"You are being robbed every day,—losses running into the thousands, yes, probably millions of dollars yearly. You and your business interests are footing the bill.

"You don't want to be burdened with a lot of political work, do you? That's why this Committee was organized, so that busy men like you and your business interests can be properly safeguarded."

A California newspaperman who examined the Better America Federation carefully for an article on the real purposes concealed in its patriotic pretensions, says:

"Much of its pamphlet literature is used primarily for the purpose of gaining new members and subscriptions. Business men and old ladies,—any one with a conservative bias, a credulous timid streak, and $10 or more to spare—are their meat. For instance, I know of one old lady who received a copy of the recent pamphlet, 'Behind the Veil,' with its terrifying exposure of revolutionary activities enclosed in a letter asking her to join and contribute, which she did."

Down in West Virginia, the coal operators behind the American Constitutional Association got out a letter of appeal, addressed to "members and friends." It is taken from the court record in the case of a solicitor suing for commissions and is reproduced here in part:

One of our Bluefield (W. Va.) members writes:

"We have got to have something with PUNCH in it—something which will awaken and HOLD red-blooded men, and make them sit up and take notice and *keep on taking notice* and get out and dig for our Association.

Now then: Many of us feel just as do our member and his friend in Bluefield—that we must *do* something; and when we see and read, as all too often we do these days, about the efforts of either those who seek to overthrow our constitutional Government or of those, who

being falsely led, are working to the same end, we are ready for "direct action"—ready to *fight.* But

This Association, as organized, is something wider and deeper than possibly some have thought. And while its officers realize fully the outrageous conditions which exist, and which must be changed, yet they also realize that better and *permanent* conditions will *have to come by "peaceful persuasion" and not by force.* One of our objects, as you have read, is to *"inculcate"*—not to *drive* —"in the *minds*"—not the *passions*—of our people, both native and foreign born, the *true spirit* of Americanism. . . .

Also, you have just read, "The American Constitutional Association is organized to *preserve reverence for law."* And, here, what is meant is a respect—a reverence for Order, Symmetry and *just* Proportion as expressed by what we call Law. . . . Who can say there is any place for the "Closed Shop" here? And since we call upon "all Americans and American Organizations to accomplish these purposes," will not the *un*-American "Closed Shop" be *automatically closed out* when they answer our call? . . .

Do you—at least *once* a day, say to a friend or acquaintance, "Here, Tom, you must join The American Constitutional Association"?

"But what is it," says Tom.

"It is an association of all Americans and American Associations" is your answer.

"To do what?"

"Briefly, to organize the American people—the public."

"For what?"

And here is where you hand him the leaflet of our

Objects, and start the argument—starting doing *your part. Get* his application. . . .

Time, patience, hard work and lots of money are required—to merely offset the effects of radical activities which cost $500,000 a year here in West Virginia alone.

Yours for constitutional government,

AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL ASS'N."

V
WHAT THEY DO

All these organizations exist primarily for propaganda. Their main activity therefore is printing literature and giving out press copy. Less common are public meetings, debates, furnishing speakers, conducting prize contests for patriotic essays or orations in schools and colleges, though they all figure.

The propaganda is chiefly against radicalism in all its forms, including LaFolletteism, the child labor amendment, and industrial welfare bills. Next most conspicuous, is the attack on pacifism, usually coupled with radicalism, on the theory that the object of the pacifists is to disarm the United States "so that the Bolsheviks can take it." Restriction of immigration, and Americanization of the aliens who are here, come next in importance, though the efforts at Americanizing are very feeble. This activity is based on the assumption that most aliens are Reds (or most Reds are aliens—it works the same either way).

In the background of activities, but underlying them all, is hostility to organized labor. Where organized labor is recognized, as it is in the National Civic Federation, it is only the conservative leadership that is encouraged and approved.

The progressive and radical unions are regarded as part of the menace to "American institutions." They supported LaFollette in 1924, as did the Socialists, and as the Communists were prepared to do. Therefore they are un-American. As Mr. Gompers and many of the conservative leaders also supported Mr. LaFollette, it put quite a strain on this interpretation, and caused Mr. Ralph Easley of the Civic Federation to explain and apologize for Mr. Gompers to his conservative associates.

This attitude to organized labor is natural to conservative business men. If the Reds are not opposed they may capture the labor movement "as they have in Great Britain." We might be faced not only with the prospect of a labor government at Washington, but a radical labor crowd in power. Therefore the safe course is to stop the evil at its source—organization. And quite aside from political power, trade unions are to be opposed by employers in their own businesses. So we find the professional patriotic organizations on the whole anti-organized labor and open shop. The Civic Federation alone is not, though anti-union employers sit on its board.

Yet it would not do to express this attitude openly as part of a patriotic program. So it is concealed under attacks on the Reds. It is significant enough that not a single trade-unionist is on the controlling board of any of the patriotic organizations except the Civic Federation, which

was organized to bring capital and labor together.

In addition to propaganda, some legislative work is done by a few associations, chiefly in opposing progressive measures such as industrial welfare bills and the child labor amendment, and in fighting efforts to repeal laws curtailing free speech. The total effort put into legislative work is slight compared with the propaganda work. It is also far less than a few years ago, probably because progressive industrial measures are so little agitated. Only the National Civic Federation and the Better America Federation of Los Angeles have ever gone far in that field.

None of the organizations takes any active part in open politics. The disastrous experiences of the Security League in that field in 1918 may account in part for their reluctance to tackle it, though it is more likely that they are not fitted for such a major task. Their leading backers are prominent and influential in the regular Republican and Democratic organizations, and do not need help outside. It is noteworthy, however, that almost all the patriotic societies united in opposing the LaFollette Movement in 1924, not by official action in most cases, but by matter-of-course references to it as "made in Moscow." It was just tied into the regular anti-red campaign.

Some few of the organizations have actively gone into the business of prosecuting radicals, or have aided or prompted public officials to do so.

Most conspicuous of these efforts was the long campaign of the Better America Federation against the I.W.W. in California, as a result of which about 164 members of that working-class organization were sent to prison under the criminal syndicalism law, solely for their membership in it. The Federation employed for over three years three professional witnesses, Diamond, Coutts and Townsend, to testify in all these trials. Two of these were ex-convicts. The American Defense Society assisted the federal secret service under William J. Burns in bringing the criminal syndicalist prosecutions in Michigan in 1922 against thirty-one members of the Communist Party. The President of the National Security League, Mr. Solomon Stanwood Menken, has on several occasions insisted on the exclusion of distinguished aliens whose radicalism he opposed—notably the Countess Catherine Karolyi, wife of the first president of the Hungarian Republic.

The Security League in 1925 also succeeded in inducing a business men's luncheon club and the Y.M.C.A. of Hartford, Connecticut, to cancel speaking engagements of Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., the British labor statesman, on the ground that he was preaching "socialistic doctrines." On this occasion the *Baltimore Sun* remarked:

"Already in continental theaters America is the subject of the same sort of gibes that New York pokes at

Brooklyn. With Mr. Kellogg inside the government and the National Security League outside, we are certainly a legitimate subject for ridicule."

Typical of the activity of the National Security League was the report issued by B. F. Ristine, Major of Infantry, 84th Division, U. S. Army, Indianapolis, on Frederick J. Libby of the National Council for the Prevention of War, who was scheduled to speak on peace in Indianapolis. This report was "authenticated by Major General Robert L. Bullard, U. S. Army, Retired, President of the League."

All of the statements included in the report had been answered and proved to be falsehoods time and again by Mr. Libby's organization. Knowing of this, the Indianapolis Monthly Meeting of Friends complained to the Army headquarters at Indianapolis and received a reply from G. L. Townsend, Colonel of Infantry and Chief of Staff which said that "the statement made by Major Ristine regarding the authenticity of the data was inaccurate, the data being understood to have been compiled by the late R. M. Whitney (author of the book 'The Reds in America') and furnished the undersigned and his associates for their information, the officers of the National Security League believing it to be correct and true, and not furnishing it for publication. . . . It is known to be the expressed policy of the League to avoid controversy involving personalities, and

it is regretted by the officers of the League and by the officers of the 84th Division Headquarters that the matter was given any circulation whatever."

To this explanation of Mr. Whitney's false report and the circulation given it by Major General Bullard, the Chairman of the Committee on Literature and Peace of the Indianapolis Quakers replied (May 29, 1926):

"It is fortunate indeed that the data furnished in good faith by the National Security League and used in good faith by the officers of the 84th Division fell into my hands, for now we all know that it was untrustworthy. It is worth considerable trouble to arrive at the truth. I trust that you are notifying those among whom the Whitney compilation was circulated, of its unreliability."

The so-called official dossier furnished by R. M. Whitney described Mr. Libby as either "a dangerous fanatic, or in the pay of some foreign government."

But for real action against radicals in the name of patriotism, the record of the American Legion outdoes all the others. And it has been direct action, too. The facts are given on page 56. The Ku Klux Klan, too, has added to its secret methods of intimidation open violence against what it terms un-American elements, all in the name of loyalty and patriotism. Its record should not be omitted in appraising the forces of professional patriotism. Its activities and its appeal

are far wider than the group of professional societies here described. They have in common hostility to radicalism and maintenance of the status quo.

All these organizations operate from single offices. There are no branch offices, except that of the Sentinels of the Republic in Milton, Mass. All the headquarters of those operating nationally are in New York or Washington. None has active local groups, and only occasionally do their chief representatives appear publicly elsewhere than in New York or Washington. They are highly centralized propaganda bureaus, working almost entirely by mail or through the press. This of course does not apply to the purely local organizations, like the Better America Federation, nor to the American Legion and the K.K.K. The Legion and the Klan depend for their power on a widely distributed membership and intensive local activity, with a national headquarters chiefly as a clearing-house. They are therefore stronger in action and weaker in propaganda than their relatives in patriotism in New York and Washington.

Propaganda work requires only a secretary with some knowledge of newspaper publicity, compilation and printing, and executive ability. Most of the staffs are therefore headed by former newspapermen or publicity agents. The staffs are small—two to ten (except the Better America Federation of Los Angeles with a somewhat larger staff). The business men who give the

work its real drive play a larger part than do most officers of volunteer public agencies. Some devote a major part of their time to it, and appear in print as spokesmen far more often than their paid officials. This is the reverse of the custom of most public agencies and indicates the self-interest of the few who run each of them. Many of the less known organizations are one-man affairs, representing only the enthusiasm of a self-appointed patriot.

With these general facts in mind, note what some of the chief organizations say of themselves and their activities, in terms of program or achievement.

NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION

This, the most elaborately organized of the national agencies, has nine departments, each devoted to study and action. A well-known journalist who studied them has listed them with comments:

Current economic and political movements.

Welfare—opposing industrial welfare legislation and favoring "company" welfare.

Immigration—opposing it.

Woman's—opposing minimum wage, etc., and radicalism in all forms.

Workmen's compensation.

Social insurance—against it.

Study of revolutionary movements—against them.

Public health education.

Industry—founded in joint honor of August Belmont and Samuel Gompers, and devoted to industrial progress through industrial peace (and vice versa).

The Woman's Department says of its objects:

"Americanism—To understand the meaning and intent of this form of government and of the various radical activities tending to undermine and destroy it. To use such accurate knowledge to actively oppose . . . destructive propaganda and to aid in all efforts toward stabilizing constitutional Americanism.

"Naturalization— . . . To support legislation authorizing the enrollment of aliens. . . .

"National Defense—To stand for a trained and equipped Army and Navy adequate to uphold the principles of Democracy and Liberty as expressed by this government. To urge and to stimulate the protection and preservation of chemical industries and chemical research as they affect the home, the health, the industry and the defense of the country." (The Woman's Department distributes a pamphlet entitled "A PLEA—To American Women" which is an appeal to aid in the protection of this industry.)

This concern for the chemical industry may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that Mr. Elon H. Hooker, president of the Hooker Electro-Chemical Company (and of the American Defense Society, by the way) is on the executive committee of the Federation.

Of the Welfare Department, headed until recently by the late Louis A. Coolidge, Treasurer and Director of the United States Shoe Machinery Company, Mr. Easley says:

"There is perhaps no better antidote for radical attacks on present institutions than intelligent, genuine and wisely directed welfare work."

The Department on the Study of Subversive Movements, headed by Condé B. Pallen, one of the editors of the Catholic Encyclopedia, offers the most pretentious program. Here it is:

"a. A sub-committee on socialist doctrine and tactics dedicated to the preparation and distribution of literature and the organization of a training school for speakers. (We have tried without success to find the training school.—Ed.)

b. Sub-committees to make intensive studies of the extent to which revolutionary forces have penetrated into labor, the church, the press, philanthropic agencies, social agencies, foreign groups, women's organizations, public employees, negro groups, agriculture, colleges, public schools, and other fields.

c. A sub-committee to study text books on history, political economy and civics used in high schools and colleges.

d. A sub-committee on Soviet propaganda in the United States.

e. A bureau to evaluate federal, state and municipal official statistics as well as socialist deductions from same.

f. A committee on the fundamentals of our Constitution and their application to everyday life, including the limitations of free speech, free press and free assembly.

g. A sub-committee on a survey of industrial, political and social progress and constructive recommendations."

The Federation's efforts against radicalism are by no means confined to this department. There is a special committee on the "Limitation of Free Speech" headed by Archibald E. Stevenson, attorney for the "Lusk Committee" appointed by the New York state legislature in 1919 to study radical movements.* Its Industrial Department published a report headed "Free Speech a Nuisance." The announcement of the Department on Current Economic and Political Movements sent out by Mr. Easley was a typical anti-radical blast, serving up the same dish under another name. He promised "data for social and religious bodies" to "thwart the detailed program to capture these self-same movements, as worked out by Moscow with uncanny cleverness."

In fact, all these departments and committees are merely machinery for Mr. Easley's use. He is the dominant spirit. He speaks through them all. And whatever is uppermost in his fears becomes the Federation's concern. The radicals have been chiefly on his mind since the war, together with those who defend free speech for radicals. Soviet Russia is of course Mr. Easley's chief abomination. He has freely sponsored the cause of the Czarists, with Mr. Boris Brasol as his chief adviser. Mr. Brasol, one of the heads of the old Russian Black Hundred, came to the United States as a refugee from the revolution, to enlist support for the restoration of the Czar.

* See page 107.

In the National Civic Federation Review in 1920 he advocated recognizing "the Omsk government of Admiral Kolchak." He supported the claims of the Grand Duke Cyril whom he represented in the United States, and officiated at a royalist gathering in 1924 at the Hotel Plaza attended by "the reigning Czarina, the Grand Duchess Cyril." He was also on Mr. Ford's payroll and boasted that "in one year he had written two books that would do the Jews more injury than ten pogroms."

Mr. Easley and his Federation joined with other organizations as well as with Noel Sargent of the National Association of Manufacturers, in attempting to break the strike of textile workers in Passaic in 1926. In this connection he wrote in a letter to Mr. Ivy L. Lee (April 1, 1926) that Mussolini would "make short work" of Prof. Scott Nearing, the Rev. Harry F. Ward, C. E. Ruthenberg and "all the other Red and Pink organizers who are either conducting or aiding and abetting the lesson in Revolution at Passaic."

None of the men above mentioned have spoken in Passaic in connection with the strike, but this makes no difference to Mr. Easley. He is unhappy in the thought that we have no Mussolini in America to attend to such people. In the same letter to Mr. Lee, he charges Prof. Jerome Davis of the Yale Divinity School and President Henry N. MacCracken of Vassar College with being "Soviet defenders."

NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE

The League functions through its national headquarters with a general secretary, a speakers' bureau secretary, and an educational department under a civic secretary, Miss Etta V. Leighton, a former school teacher. The speakers' bureau furnishes patriotic anti-radical and anti-pacifist speakers to organizations on request, conducts street meetings in New York against radicalism, and sends out debaters especially to colleges where the radicals and pacifists are thought to be active. Frequent speakers for the League during 1925-26 were Joseph T. Cashman, a New York lawyer, and J. Robert O'Brien, a professional anti-radical soap-boxer now lecturing chiefly before Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis, and other business men's clubs in an effort to show the Communist origin of all trade-union strikes. During 1926 he gave valuable assistance in strike-breaking at Passaic, N. J., being well compensated by certain of the mill owners.

The educational department sends out quantities of study material to teachers in schools and colleges. Chief among the pamphlets are a study program of American history, a "Catechism of the Constitution of the United States," and some printed speeches of former Solicitor-General James M. Beck. The object of this work in the schools is to instill a knowledge of the form of government and a reverence for the Constitution in

order "to offset ignorance, radical criticism and apathy."

The League's program is specific as to its conception of Americanism and constitutional government. It advocates:

"The enforcement of laws to punish, and in the case of aliens to deport, all who seek by word or deed the overthrow of the American government.

"Laws to control immigration so as to permit the admission only of the right kind of raw material for American industrial progress.

"The promotion of 100 per cent American shops and factories . . . through employees' meetings to explain American ideals and expose radical fallacies.

"The assurance that foreign-language newspapers shall at all times actively and faithfully support the Constitution.

"The prohibition of the use in all public and private schools of any language other than English as the basic medium of instruction."

It also advocates universal military service and a bigger army and navy.

Typical of the League's concerns was its agitation upon the discovery in 1923 of a boy of 11 in New York who was a member of the Young Workers' League, a communist organization. Leo Granoff had been arrested wandering around late at night, because his mother had gone to a show and had forgotten to give him the key to the house. His membership card in the Young Work-

ers' League, found on him, raised a storm of indignation from the Security League officials, Mr. Solomon Stanwood Menken and Miss Etta V. Leighton. Said Miss Leighton:

"The pity of it is that Leo doesn't stand alone. All over the country bright boys and girls are victims of the reds, who lose no chance to preach vile doctrines that destroy personal morals and civic probity. How long are these fiends to be allowed to exploit the souls of little children? How long are they to be left free to warp the lives of our little children and teach them hate of the land that offers them freedom and opportunity?"

Leo was of course released by the Children's Court. But he was not forgotten. His heresies were made the basis of a very touching appeal for the Boy Scouts signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The educational and propaganda work of the League is indicated by the list of its publications in the bibliography of this volume.

AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY

This organization has operated both from New York and Washington. During the two years that R. M. Whitney represented it at Washington, up to his death in 1924, and while William J. Burns was head of the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice, Mr. Whitney was the chief spokesman of its activities. The Washington office has not since figured publicly and is now reported to be closed. Major Richard

A. Charles is the executive secretary in New York.

The 1924 report summarizes its recent work. It shows a total of 225,000 pamphlets distributed, of which 78,000 were copies of the Constitution, and approximately the same number were pamphlets against the "red menace." The rest were on immigration, which was indirectly aimed at "foreign radicalism," and press clip-sheets on "immigration, national defense and radicalism." It is clear that the Society's main object and appeal is its anti-radical program, and only incidentally its defense propaganda, which as shown below is merely in coöperation with other agencies which took the lead.

Below follows a brief summary of typical activities of the American Defense Society, Inc., taken from the 1924 report:

Constitution of the United States. Distributed free to school children over ninety thousand copies of annotated edition of the Constitution. Distributed 13,898 pamphlets by Hon. James M. Beck, "A Rising or a Setting Sun."

Defense Test Day. To educate public and effect entry to news columns of press, gave dinner to General Bullard, securing coöperation therein of thirty-seven organizations. Helped in formulation of committee in Washington, D. C., for same purpose. . . . Supplied speaker for radio.

Immigration Restriction. Held three conferences on this subject; issued news releases on each conference.

Supplied speaker for radio. Appeared before Senate Committee presenting arguments for restriction.

Pacifism. Exposed the secret conference of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and showed the connection of Communism with that organization. Published pamphlet entitled "Peace at Any Old Price."

Patriotic Exercises in Schools, Armories, etc. Over one hundred thousand copies of a picture of Theodore Roosevelt, first honorary president of the society, containing message, "Keep Up the Fight for Americanism," have been distributed and unveiled with a ceremony, the purpose of which emphasizes ideals of American citizenship.

Preparedness. Assisted in getting from Congress appropriations for the Army. (a) By arranging a speaking tour for General Pershing; later publishing a digest of his speeches in a pamphlet, "National Defense." (b) By distributing copies of the 1920 Defense Act and other documents issued by the War Department, copies of the addresses of Secretary Weeks and other army officials. (c) Aided the campaign of the Citizens Military Training Camps Associations. (d) Issued "clip-sheet" on National Defense to 1,500 newspapers.

Radicalism. Sent reporter to trial of Foster and Ruthenberg, who wrote up the evidence submitted and placed it in a syndicate of newspapers throughout the United States. Published book, "Reds in America," written from documents seized by government in Bridgman raid on the convention of the Communists. We maintain in Washington a bureau from which news releases are issued apprising the public of the activities of the Communists in the United States. Have published documents such as "The Youth Movement in America,"

showing tie-up of radicalism in our colleges; "Back to Barbarism," showing effect of radicalism in and among the American negroes.

It will be noted that the Society makes a great deal of its coöperation with other quasi-patriotic groups and that it frequently uses the radio.

The Society does not reveal in its report what in fact most interested it during 1924, namely, the defeat of LaFollette for President. The fact that it indirectly entered politics is not mentioned. Its report, however, shows that a speech made before it in October, entitled "The Revolution against the American Government," by Martin W. Littleton, was sent out to the number of over 25,000, as well as a pamphlet by R. M. Whitney, entitled "LaFollette-Socialism-Communism." Both endeavored to show that the Progressive Party movement was inspired by Moscow and constituted a revolutionary effort to overthrow the government. Its attack was centered on the proposal to permit legislative veto of the Supreme Court's decisions declaring acts of Congress unconstitutional. In view of the insistence of patriotic societies on legal methods and their professed hatred of violence, it is significant that they oppose with equal vigor the Communist movement and such purely legal reforms as this constitutional proposal and the child labor amendment. What they evidently are most for is the status quo of property.

The Defense Society's conception of radicalism is best shown by the following questionnaire sent to schools and colleges to discover "the extent to which socialistic and communistic principles are advocated by members of the faculty or entertained by such student organizations as may exist in the form of liberal clubs, forums, alliances, etc." Note what the Society regards as socialism and communism:

In any of the above courses are any of the following principles advocated or recommended?.....
a. Referendum to the people?.....b. The recall of judges and judicial decisions?.....c. Initiative or direct legislation by the people?.....
d. The right of the people as a whole to the earnings of the individual?.....

Is there active propaganda among the students or faculty for further reduction of the size of the Army or Navy?.....

If so, is such propaganda based on the idea that military preparedness tends to produce war and that disarmament by this country is the first step toward permanent peace?.....

Are any of the above principles or theories offered as a subject for debates between the students and, if so, to what extent?.....

In 1920 when the fear of Reds was at its height, the American Defense Society took the lead in proposing direct action along lines not dissimilar to Fascist tactics in Italy. It was headed "A Call to Arms," and among other points said:

"Citizens Committees of Defense have been formed and are in process of formation in a number of towns and cities. A practical plan for organization and operation has been worked out by the society, and leaders are instructed as to how to meet the situation in their respective communities."

AMERICAN LEGION

It is difficult to characterize the American Legion in the same way as the other organizations, whose direction is centralized. The Legion is made up of virtually independent local organizations coöperating through state and national conventions and officers. National policies are fixed at the national conventions; but the local posts are free to take such action in their communities as they feel consistent with the Legion's aims.

It is therefore difficult to characterize the Legion as a whole except as the local posts show similar tendencies. On the whole it may be said that the Legion, immediately after the war, indulged, in many localities, in violent antagonism to radical and progressive forces. But this violence soon subsided, and only spasmodically in the last few years have Legion posts used force in the interest of their conception of patriotism.

Their extensive activities in propaganda are directed chiefly against pacifists, and occasionally against radicals. In several communities the Legion has been stirred into action by the regular professional patriotic societies who have felt that

the patriotic appeal of the ex-soldier would be more effective than their own. During 1926 two such instances occurred—one in Massachusetts, where the Legion was active in opposing a meeting of the Fellowship of Youth for Peace at Concord, inspired by the Industrial Defense Association; and in Los Angeles and Pasadena, Cal., where the Legion, inspired by the Better America Federation, endeavored to prevent Roger N. Baldwin from speaking before the City Club and the State Conference of Social Work, and succeeded in canceling the City Club engagement.

But the whole record of the Legion in this respect must be sketched to show its varying character and its potential power when any issue arises to stir up its defense of patriotism conceived in military terms. Its interest is not that of the professional patriot, out to capitalize a situation or a job, an organization or business backers, but of a genuine belief that ex-soldiers are peculiarly qualified to protect "American institutions" in the name of a superior patriotism.

A record of acts of violence by members of the American Legion acting as such, compiled from press reports and verified by correspondence, was published by the American Civil Liberties Union in 1921. It listed 50 such acts up to the close of the year 1920. From that date the record of violence fell off, due to the criticism it caused and the resentment aroused even among its own membership. There have since been not more than

ten cases, of which two were serious—at Wilkes-Barre in March, 1924, and at Great Bend, Kansas, March 21, 1921. At Great Bend, where a Farmers Non-Partisan League meeting was scheduled, four speakers on the way to it were beaten up, and two of them were tarred and feathered. The men who were beaten and tarred were J. O. Stevic, editor of the *Nonpartisan Leader*, Carl Parsons, a veteran of the World War, while ex-Senator Burton of Kansas and George Wilson of Oklahoma, who were together in a car, were forced to get out of the county.

At Wilkes-Barre a Lenin Memorial meeting conducted by the Workers Party was broken up at the point of rifles by a crowd of Legion men who marched from their hall for that purpose, and who forced the audience to leave the hall and to salute the American flag. The action of the local post was backed by others throughout the country who wired their approval. The following from Oklahoma is typical:

"Oklahoma City Post No. 35, American Legion, wishes to congratulate you on your recent stand in upholding Americanism, which is the basic principle of our organization. Dispersion of Bolshevik worship strikes a chord in the heart of all true Americans. The American flag is good enough for us. Stay with it.

"Oklahoma City Post, American Legion,
By H. Lee Minton, Post Commander."

The Wilkes-Barre *Daily Record* of January 30, 1924, in a news account reported that:

"Those who entered the local Legion Hall last evening could hear the click of the rifles on the indoor rifle range. A large group of Legionnaires exhibited eagerness to become proficient in this art for future emergencies. The rifle range was crowded last evening with ex-service men in quest of rifle practice. This is unusual and attracted the attention of all who entered the building."

The breaking up of most meetings at the instance of the Legion has been accomplished without violence, by pressure on local officials and hall-owners. The Legion specialized in stopping Socialist meetings addressed by Eugene V. Debs, concerts by Fritz Kreisler, and showings of a film depicting conditions in Russia, entitled "The Fifth Year."

Legion alarmists prevented peace signs being carried in an Armistice Day parade in Boston. A Legion official journal in Sioux City has made libelous attacks on the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom on the basis of information which the local post admitted was furnished by the "General Staff of the United States Army." Loyal Legionnaires joined with the D. A. R., the Reserve Officers Association, the Better America Federation, the National Security League, and the Military Order of the World War in a loud outcry against Frederick J. Libby's appearance before the students of Leland Stanford, Jr., University.

As noted above the Legion Chapter at Concord, Mass., attempted, in June 1926, to prevent the

New England Fellowship of Youth for Peace from holding a conference there. Eggs, stones and stink bombs were reported among the missiles used without avail in this Legion-inspired attempt to intimidate college students interested in peace. Later the local Legion officials who had been most interested in breaking up the student gathering repudiated their participation in the violence. The Legion's propaganda material against the Fellowship of Youth for Peace was supplied by the Industrial Defense Association (see page 176) and the Massachusetts Public Interest League, "composed of a group of women who are jealous of the good name of their state." Mr. Marvin of the New York *Commercial* also contributed to the attack. According to Brent Dow Allinson, the chairman of the students' conference, the charges made by all the "patriots" were "unproved, unfair, untrue and a baseless slander."

A Leroy F. Smith of Los Angeles, writing in the *American Legion Bulletin* for September 22, 1923, under the title "A Nice Little Kitty—with Claws," indulged himself in a page of pleasantries about the American Civil Liberties Union, which has a branch in Los Angeles to combat police suppression of radical meetings and the numerous criminal syndicalist prosecutions. The article evidently had the approval of the Legion officials. It scored in picturesque language all the principles of free speech and assembly, characterizing the Civil Liberties Union thus:

"The local committee has a number of well-known figures on it, very well known; while the national committee numbers among its members such eminent patriots as William Z. Foster, Rose Schneiderman, Scott Nearing, James A. Duncan (former I.W.W. mayor of Butte), Felix Frankfurter (which means in English, Merry Sausage)," etc.

The spectacle of the I.W.W., an anti-political organization, with a mayor, is enough to characterize Mr. Smith's ignorance of public affairs, even overlooking the fact that Mr. Duncan was secretary of the Seattle Central Labor Council and not a resident of Butte.

The spirit behind these evidences of patriotic zeal is not far removed from the Italian Fascisti. Indeed the connection is not fanciful. The Legion invited Mussolini to address its San Francisco convention in 1923. He sent a cordial reply regretting that he was otherwise engaged. National Commander Alvin Owsley, in an interview with the Newspaper Enterprise Association, published in various papers served by that agency in January 1923, said:

"If ever needed, the American Legion stands ready to protect our country's institutions and ideals as the Fascisti dealt with the destructionists who menaced Italy!"

"By taking over the government?" he was asked.

"Exactly that," he replied. "The American Legion is fighting every element that threatens our democratic

government—soviets, anarchists, I.W.W., revolutionary socialists and every other 'red.' . . . Do not forget that the Fascisti are to Italy what the American Legion is to the United States."

Mr. Owsley's reported statement was never repudiated by him or by other Legion officials.

Other "patriotic" activities of the Legion have been to oppose amnesty for federal and state political prisoners, convicted solely for expressions of opinion during the war; anti-radical propaganda in the public schools through contests for prizes for essays against radicalism; coöperation with the United States Bureau of Education in an anti-radical chauvinistic program for American Education Week in 1924, and legislation restricting immigration in order to promote Americanism.

It was largely on the restrictionist immigrant policy that Samuel Gompers, George L. Berry, and other A. F. of L. leaders made common cause with the Legion. They were one, of course, in their anti-red drive. The Legion occasionally got out of hand in labor struggles, however, some of the local posts actively siding with the employers, one of them in New Jersey actually organizing a strike-breaking railroad crew in the switchmen's strike of 1920. But the labor chiefs overlooked these unofficial lapses for the support of the Legion in their common drive against aliens and radicals.

The most recent strike-breaking effort of the Legion occurred in Passaic, New Jersey, in the winter and spring of 1926. The local Legion Post opened a "relief store" to discourage picketing by giving food to workers who stayed off the picket line. The Legion also joined with the mill owners in helping to drag the Communist red herring across the trail of the real strike issues.

John Thomas Taylor, legislative agent of the American Legion in Washington, acting as the treasurer of an organization of chemical manufacturers, has been leading the publicity against the treaty to prohibit the use of poison gas in warfare. Representative Theodore Burton of Ohio brought charges against him and suggested an inquiry into his activities. On Friday, January 21, 1927, Representative Hamilton Fish aired the whole matter very effectively, making the further charge that it was Taylor who forced the Legion resolution against the treaty through in the 1926 Convention.

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

Of the few local agencies the only one which carries on extensive and continuous public work is the Better America Federation of Los Angeles. It is particularly strong in propaganda by the spoken word. It maintains a staff of salaried speakers which it furnishes to Rotary, Lion, Advertising, Kiwanis, and similar clubs, as well as to women's clubs, schools, and Americanization

classes. One of its speakers, Mr. Harry F. Atwood, in one of his lectures stated that "the curse of this country is the open mind" meaning, of course, tolerance toward I.W.W.'s and trade unionists. Another speaker was Baroness de Ropp who lost her property in the Russian Revolution. Other speakers for the Federation dressed in the customary stage garments of Uncle Sam have gone forth on the streets to carry the light of the Constitution to the people.

In addition to its speakers' bureau, soap-box department, and incessant pamphleteering, the Better America has organized many subsidiary committees operating under various names to carry out its purposes. An article in "Better Schools" published by the Better Schools Committee of Citizens and Teachers of Los Angeles some time ago characterizes this practice of the federation:

"So hateful are the policies and methods of this group of reactionaries that they find a frequent change of name necessary. When their hypocrisy and fraud is discovered under one name they shift to a new one. Some of the many aliases under which this group has hidden its identity and motives are: The American Protective League, the Association for the Betterment of the Public Service, the Commercial Federation of California, the Associated Patriotic Societies, the Taxpayers' Association, the People's Economy League, the Tax Investigation and Economy League; and now, having worn out

all the old masks, they are appearing as the Committee of One Thousand, and the Committee of Ten Thousand."

Behind all these leagues and committees stands a small group of business men. The same article describes the machinery:

"The constitution of the B.A.F. reveals a state executive committee of nine members who elect officers, employ the manager, direct all policies, and control disbursement of all funds. A majority vote of this committee rules. Hence all policies, appointments, and disbursements of funds are in the hands of five men. The membership has no voice nor vote in the policies of the organization nor in the expenditure of the money. *A number of members who were contributing to the Americanization Fund wrote to ask how the money was being expended and were denied an answer.*" (Italics ours.—Ed.)

The chief effort of the Federation has been the campaign against the I.W.W. which has put California first among the states in the number and vigor of its prosecutions of radical workers.

A. S. Lavenson, vice-president of the large Capwell Department Store in Oakland, and a director of the Federation, voiced the sentiments of the organization:

"The biggest thing that the Better America Federation has done is to get the criminal syndicalism act on the books and to keep it there against the efforts of those who are trying to repeal it.

"I believe in free speech provided the speaker is honest and intelligent. But the men who listen to these radical agitators are not competent to pass on the stuff they hear. I recently made my first visit to Europe. We must realize that our government is very young in comparison with those of Europe. They have learned some things over there. Popular government is still only an experiment."

The Federation was also vigorously opposed to the release of federal political prisoners and, after citing the speeches of Debs and others, it asked in one of its weekly letters, following President Coolidge's action in freeing all the remaining war-time prisoners:

"Is it any wonder that right-minded Americans should feel that reasoning is rapidly reaching the limit?"

The real purpose of the Federation is further revealed in a speech made by Senator J. M. Inman of California, speaking from the floor of the state Senate:

"We see the Better America Federation at work using what control it possesses to serve the special interests. Under a false title, which would seem to indicate that the organization is aiming to make American citizenship and better national life, we find it being used openly and actively in trying to aid these corporate interests in their endeavor to evade just taxation."

Describing the backers of the Federation the same Senator declared:

"These gentlemen are typically of the reactionary type, representative of 'Big Business' and ready to serve the big special interests in so primitive a form of special privilege as evasion of just taxes. . . . They simply want big business to be free to engage in unregulated and unbridled exploitation of the people of our State."

VI

THEIR PROPAGANDA IN PRINT

An examination of the propaganda put out by the professional patriotic societies shows that it is practically all directed against radicalism—from Communism to public ownership of public utilities. It also shows the connection of these societies with open-shop employers and privileged business interests. It merely reënforces the basic facts as to the motives and control of these organizations. Much of it is highly emotional, even passionate, and therefore full of exaggeration, distortions and misrepresentations.

It speaks for itself. Here are typical samples:

In a letter to employers in a campaign "for capacity production" the American Defense Society says:

"We believe that Bolshevism will vanish when every worker produces useful goods to the greatest extent of his ability, and that 100 per cent Americanism in labor forces will be a result.

"To this end we are offering to employers throughout the country a series of pamphlets such as those enclosed in this letter, for use in the pay envelopes of employees. They are intended to impress upon the worker the need of his or her coöperation with the employer in order to

bring about a reduction of living costs and a season of prosperity."

Again in one of its leaflets:

"What the American Defense Society is doing for Americanism. To that end it has published such pamphlets as the 'Lying Lure of Bolshevism.' It has corresponded with the mayors of cities, warning them of the plans of the I.W.W. and other radicals, and it is undertaking to counteract the terrible effects of *organized disorder* by organized citizenship." . . . "The best tribute to the effectiveness of its activities is the constant, bitter fight being waged against it by radicals and subversive organizations."

For the sake of the record, it should be noted that no campaign against the Society has been carried on at any time by opposing organizations. The reference is probably to the libel suits brought against the Society's representative, Mr. R. M. Whitney, author of the "Reds in America," for his baseless charges against various citizens. The temper of that publication can be gathered from these quotations from a pamphlet bearing the same name published by the Society for more general use.

"The most colossal conspiracy against the United States in its history was unearthed at Bridgeman, Mich., August 22, 1922, when the secret convention of the Communist Party of America was raided by the Michigan Constabulary, aided by county and Federal officials.

"Their programs, which are now known, show that their plans for inciting the negroes, the farmers, the government clerks, bank clerks, workmen in industry, members of Congress, to violence against the constituted authorities, have been drawn with almost uncanny appreciation of the psychology of each group.

"There is no limit to the activities of the Communist Party of America, to the ramifications of its influence, or to the patience with which they work out their theories into accomplished facts. They have not failed in a single step of their program thus far looking toward the overthrow by violence of the Government of the United States.

"The attempt at armed insurrection may not come for five years, perhaps not for ten, but it will certainly be made in fifteen or twenty years, if the Communists are permitted to continue as they have been, with secret conspiracies and 'open' organizations to function at the direction of the illegal body; and when that time comes the prostration of business, the paralysis of all industry with its attendant suffering, will be a catastrophe such as this country has never known.

"One high Communist official, angered by certain action of a United States Senator, threatened to 'report him to Moscow' unless he did as he was told. At the same time this Communist official declared that 'some Senators and a number of Congressmen are working for us, in direct communication with me and with Moscow.'

"With all the facts known—and there are many more than have been here presented—the question naturally arises, Why doesn't the Government do something about it? The answer is simple; the laws of the United States protect the radical who aims at its destruction.

"The writer is not an alarmist. He does not believe

the Communists can ever overthrow the Government of the United States even with Russia's Red Army of a million men. But that the Communists will attempt this very thing unless they are stopped now is as certain as that night will follow day. The people of the United States are now financing the Soviet régime in Russia, to a large degree, chiefly through subscriptions to 'drives' for funds for famine relief to be handled by Russians.

"These are not idle words. The plans and programs of the Communists contain the proofs. They are worth the study of all loyal Americans, for by suggestion and innuendo they are designed to bring about the moral annexation of the United States to Russia and later the actual, physical subordination of this country to Moscow.

"The coal and railroad strikes of 1922 were a striking example of what they do. . . . Their creed is to make capital out of strikes, riots and every other form of popular unrest. . . . The Communists attend church meetings for the purpose of presenting arguments to weaken the faith of members of the church. They preach free love, the nationalization of women and children, and openly proclaim that the breaking up of home ties is an advance of civilization."

Mr. Whitney's characterizations of liberal movements for a discussion of present-day issues among college students are well revealed in his Defense Society pamphlet on the "Youth Movement in America." Discussing the National Student Forum, a clearing-house of information which takes no position on public issues, he says:

"It is the purpose of the National Student Forum, and the other organizations which it supports by its sympathy, to undermine and sink, or overthrow, the Government of the United States, and to set up in this country a soviet form of government, such as Russia now boasts."

Whitney then describes Upton Sinclair as "contributing editor of the *Liberator,* Communist monthly, founder of the I.W.W. and the American Civil Liberties Union!!"

Commenting on the Student Forum's account of the fair-minded presentation of both sides of public issues before the Harvard Liberal Club, Whitney says:

"Mr. Sinclair says the radicals were properly balanced by a group of respectable people including Admiral Sims, Hamilton Holt, President Eliot and a nephew of Lord Bryce.

"Let's take a look at the 'respectable' people who balanced the radicals. Admiral Sims, the first 'respectable' mentioned by Upton Sinclair, stated September 10th that he had never spoken for the National Student Forum.

"Hamilton Holt, the second 'respectable' on the list, is an Internationalist and a Pacifist. Considering his affiliations, one would hardly think of Dr. Holt as doing anything to counteract radicalism.

"And finally President (Emeritus) Eliot of Harvard was born in 1834. Age has privileges no one can question."

The Security League is no less alarmist in its tone, charging Bolshevism with responsibility for the federal income tax law. Mr. Solomon Stanwood Menken, President of the League, revealed himself whole-heartedly in a public speech before the Kiwanis Club of Buffalo, N. Y., Oct. 31, 1923, on "The Spirit of America." We quote from a League reprint:

"We have here 600,000 Communists meeting weekly, publishing 50 papers, attacking your country, your government, your right to prosper, to bring up your own children as you will, to enjoy the advantages of this country as we know it and our forefathers planned it. To fight them, more of us must get on the job and help take care of the U. S. A."

"Their attack has created a disaffection and critical attitude toward our officials which has worked great political injustice and is further reflected in the Socialistic coloring of legislation. A fair example is our tax law, which throttles enterprise while reducing the financial return to the government. This law was an entirely proper means for meeting a part of the Federal expense but has become such a burden to wealth that men of large means will not take a 100% risk of principal in reasonable ventures of benefit to the community when the maximum personal gain is but 40% (*sic*). How was the enactment of such a law possible? Because the Reds and Yellows raised a false issue as to what they call predatory wealth, and the politicians were misled into believing that the noise they made was the voice of the American people.

"Our course is fatuous in the extreme and we elect

to places of trust Frazier, LaFollete, and Brookhart, and our young people read the red and yellow journals, and *The Nation* and *The Republic,* with the same perverted sense as those of another time peeked into obscene literature."

In justice to Mr. Menken it should be added that he spoke at a meeting of the Teachers Union of New York early in 1927 and surprised every one present by expressing the opinion that "teachers have a right to hold their economic views and express them freely irrespective of Boards of Education or State authorities of any kind."

Another gem of verse published by the Security League was written for it by Faith Baldwin. Here it is, all four stanzas.

BOLSHE VIKI

"What are the Sirens shriekin' for?" said Percy Parlour-Red.
"To speed the guest, to speed the guest," the Loyal Native said,
"What makes you smile, so grim, so grim?" said Percy Parlour-Red,
"I'm thinkin' of a muzzled hound," the Loyal Native said.

For they're shippin' Bolshe Viki, you can hear the engines purr,
They are weighin' of the anchor, an' the decks are all a-stir,
They've pinned a number on him, an' they've branded him a cur,
An' they're shippin' Bolshe Viki in the mornin'.

"What makes the People mutter so?" said Percy Parlour-Red,
"They're wakin' up, they're wakin' up," the Loyal Native said,
"What makes that fellow gulp and quake?" said Percy Parlour-Red,
"It's his turn next, it's his turn next," the Loyal Native said.

They are shipping Bolshe Viki to a port beyond our ken,
They have taken Bolshe Viki with his poisoned tongue and pen,
And he'll sail in half a minute, the despised of decent men,
O they're shippin' Bolshe Viki in the mornin'!

"His speech was very fine to hear," said Percy Parlour-Red,
"My ears are deaf to traitor-talk," the Loyal Native said,
"I shook his hand not long ago," said Percy Parlour-Red,
"Then wash your own of alien dirt," the Loyal Native said.

They are shipping Bolshe Viki to a far, unknown place,
For he smirched the Flag which welcomed him, and spat in Freedom's face,
And there's thousands like him still at large—America's disgrace,
While they're shippin' Bolshe Viki in the mornin'!

"What's that like blood against the sun?" said Percy Parlour-Red,
"The Bolshe Viki brand of flag," the Loyal Native said,
"What's that that whimpers from the deck?" said Percy Parlour-Red,
"The Yellow Streak, that's sailin' now," the Loyal Native said,

For they're done with Bolshe Viki, an' his serpent breed must go,
The People, they are thinkin' hard—but thinkin' very slow!
Ho! America must arm herself to fight an unclean foe,
An' be shippin' Bolshe Viki EVERY mornin'!

Mr. Emerson Hough, "the eminent author," also wrote a piece for the Security League worth quoting, entitled the "One Hundred Per Cent American." He wound up his appeal with the following paragraph:

"Do I hold myself a one hundred per cent American? I never asked myself about it, nor needed to. But I know if I were that manner and fashion of one hundred per cent American as might by act of grace have share in the control of this country for a few short years, I would close Ellis Island to-morrow. I would dig deep the moat around America and let the portcullis fall. Then I would say: 'What ho! Warder. Go now and breed me Americans, here in America. Take your time —you have if necessary fifty years, or say one hundred years. Breed them clean and strong. Choose good

grandfathers for our people, and let us have at last a nation which is not merely a feeding trough—a country which is not just a place.

"'And let us call that country—once more—America!'"

The League also reprinted certain patriotic definitions by Mr. Henry Irving Dodge which had appeared in the *Success Magazine*. The leaflet bears the title "That's Bolshevism":

"When you hear a man tryin' to discredit Uncle Sam, that's Bolshevism.

"When you hear a man castin' discredit on the sincerity of Washington and Lincoln, that's Bolshevism—because those two are the corner-stone of our patriotic faith.

"When you hear a man distortin', misquotin', misconstruin' our Constitution, that's Bolshevism—'cause that instrument is the soundest thing, it's the greatest safeguard of human liberty ever evolved from the experience of or directly by the wisdom of man."

And of course the inevitable appeal to womanhood. This by Virginia Terhune Van der Water in a League leaflet:

"Bolshevism and Americanism cannot exist in the same land. Our fight is not yet over. One war has been won. We are facing another war that we must fight with all our strength of will and purpose. It is the fight of Americanism against Bolshevism.

"Can women, whose men helped win the World War, hesitate to say on which side they stand?"

The National Association for Constitutional Government, with which are associated the Hon. James M. Beck and the Hon. David Jayne Hill, has issued a number of pamphlets, among which are: "Confessions of an Erstwhile Parlour Socialist" by Hermine Schwed, former lecturer for the Better America Federation and other professional patriotic bodies, and "The Enemy Within Our Gates: Bolshevism's Assault Upon American Government" by the Rev. Dr. Henry Campbell Black. In the latter appear such paragraphs as this:

> "Bolshevists are the hyenas that slink upon the heels of the dogs of war. Wise men and patriotic men put themselves on guard; they do not parley with hyenas under soft Marmorean skies."

Dr. Black describes Bolshevism as not so much "a school of political philosophy as a career of crime. . . . It is the enemy of the human race." . . . "It is organized anarchy and crime." . . . In pleading for stricter espionage acts and immigration laws he says: "For what shall it profit us to have all the commerce of the world, if in the end we blow up in one grand bolshevik bust?"

And of course, "Whatever we do, let us not procrastinate. The poison is in our veins. Let us make haste to eject it and to fortify ourselves against the plague."

No less weighty than the American Constitutional Association is the recently launched (1925)

United States Flag Association with public officials, cardinals, rabbis, bishops and educators as its sponsors. It acclaims itself "The Great American Patriotic Society." Its purpose is to "put across" the American flag as representative of the institutions "which have given us the best Government on earth and in only a century and a half made this country the greatest and most prosperous nation in the world."

In appealing to employers to form "circles" in their factories a booklet of the Association says the name might be for example "The John Smith & Co. Circle of Buffalo" or "The First National Bank Circle of Syracuse." These circles are to promote locally "the basic aim of the United States Flag Association, to counteract and ultimately destroy the insidious forces, sinister influences, and disturbing elements, which, in these days of discord and divided counsels, are working and spreading to divide the unity of American citizenship and finally undermine the Republic." And further:

> "In organizing a Flag Circle the firm would be doing its bit to help counteract these growing forces and influences which carry a disregard not only for *property rights* but also for *personal liberty.*"

What are these "detrimental influences and forces" which the association says constitute the reason for its existence? They are explained in this footnote:

"As one of the several evidences of the rate at which one of these forces, Communism, is growing in this Country, it may be remarked that in 1920, Eugene Debs, the Socialistic - Communistic Presidential candidate polled about 100,000 votes. At the Last Presidential election (1920) the Communistic Presidential candidate, William Z. Foster, received something like 500,000 votes. The Communists of the Country are elated over the progress thus made and are confidently predicting in their publications and otherwise that at the next Presidential election (1928) they will poll between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 votes." *

A frank exhibit is a pamphlet prepared by the Better America Federation in 1923 which it hoped to circulate in the public schools, but which the California school authorities declined to permit. It was entitled "America is Calling to the Students in Her High Schools and Colleges." It was in effect an appeal against socialism and public ownership, and warned students that

"if these groups of free thinkers or liberals in America succeed in materially changing our Constitution or substituting some other kind of government, there will be no profit to worry about in business. Maintenance of the Constitution of the United States is the highest form of business insurance. Without it you will not need much of an education."

* The facts are that Mr. Debs secured 919,799 votes in 1920 as the candidate of the Socialist Party, while in 1924 Mr. Foster received 33,076 officially counted votes as the candidate of the Workers Party. No Communist paper or official has predicted anything about the Communist presidential vote in 1928. Ed.

Most of the literature of the Better America Federation carries a sensational title, such as "The Red Menace," "The World Endangered," "The Enemy is Mobilized," "Strikes, not the American Way," "America on Guard."

The American Constitutional Association, confining its efforts to West Virginia, battles particularly with pamphlets to preserve the "fair name of the state." Its "West Virginia Wake Up," aimed at some New York ministers and lawyers interested in free speech who had invaded successfully a county closed for years to any discussion of unionism, ended with this call to arms:

"It is time for every 100% West Virginian to show his colors. Our enemies have been at work hurling shrapnel into our midst. WE HAVE TURNED THE OTHER CHEEK TOO LONG. WAKE UP WEST VIRGINIA!"

In a subsequent leaflet addressed to the business men of the state, this organization devoted to the Constitution says:

"Your business is being injured. You are losing money every day on account of the willful, malicious lies that have been told about West Virginia. You know this is true. THE PROSPERITY OF THIS STATE HAS BEEN RETARDED MANY YEARS ON ACCOUNT OF THESE MISREPRESENTATIONS."

The American Citizen, a periodical published by the Association, carried the usual warnings of

"WORLD REVOLUTION," quotations from Lenin, headline summaries of "BOLSHEVIKI DOCTRINES," and the familiar closing appeal to "Mr. Loyal American."

But the most extensive variety of literature has come from the National Civic Federation, with its three departments specializing in propaganda for its conception of patriotism. Mr. Easley publishes one leaflet that is unique, entitled "Questions for Every Good American to Answer." It purports to be a letter from an indignant father to the Civic Federation, asking the Federation to take the lead in curbing the spread of radicalism so that it may not infect his children. Parts of it read:

"For the last two years my wife and I have been reading and studying Socialism and Bolshevism. We have visited the Rand School and read much of its literature. We have listened to socialists in their halls and at the street corners; we have heard them in church circles, social clubs and educational meetings. Among the speakers were clergymen of prominence, professors from important universities and principals and teachers from the public schools with now and then an editor. From all that we have heard and seen, we have come to detest the very word 'Socialism'. . . . We regard the doctrines of economic determinism as an abomination, leading straight to atheism and the destruction of the family. We regard their theory of internationalism, with its contempt for love of country, as one leading to

disloyalty to our government and the destruction of nationality."

And so on through a couple of galleys, the father of a family of three sons and daughters tells how the churches, the schools and the charity organizations are being captured by the advocates of radicalism, ending with the suggestion that the parents and patriotic members of churches, and college alumni should organize and "join hands" to "beat down the impudent pretensions of the comparatively few." And finally it asks, "Will not your Department on the Study of Revolutionary Movements take the initiative in this matter?"

And of course Easley and his department will.

Another of Mr. Easley's best leaflets is entitled "The War Against Patriotism." In the space of two pages it lays low as unpatriotic, the World Peace Fellowship, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Rev. A. Maude Royden, of London, "numerous church and missionary bodies," the National Council for the Reduction of Armaments, the Foreign Policy Association, the National Student Forum, and The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

One paragraph from this pamphlet is worth attention, and needs no comment:

"A committee of The National Civic Federation, which has spent two years studying the revolutionary movements in this country, was greatly disturbed to

find the extent to which they have penetrated all groups making up our national life. Not the least disquieting feature of the situation is the fact that so many men in high places have little realization of what is going on about them. For instance, it was learned that, under the very dome of the Capitol at Washington, there was an organization made up of a hundred and fifty secretaries to senators and representatives which was completely in the hands of the Reds. It had been in existence for two years, holding its meetings in the caucus room of the House, and yet few persons, even in Washington, had ever heard of it! But Moscow and the Red 'liberal' press of all nations had heard of it and knew and exploited the fact that the 'United States Congress, Jr.' had voted in favor of the recognition of Soviet Russia."

In conclusion Mr. Easley laments:

"We, in the United States, seem to be fighting alone the battle against the Red-ism of the world. If the flood of propaganda against patriotism continues unchecked, its effect will surely be the undermining of our national virility and the extending of an invitation to the bandits of the world to 'come and help themselves,' for we shall be left defenseless. The question before us to-day is: 'Shall we shrink from the great task which lies before us?' No, a hundred times no—unless we are utterly faithless to our children, to our children's children and to those who 'sleep in Flanders fields'!"

That this hysterical propaganda is not accompanied by any real work for patriotism is testified to by that zealous organ, the *Woman Patriot* pub-

lished in Washington. In an article in 1924 entitled "Embalmed Patriotism," the editor says:

"'Get up and say something! . . . You people of patriotic organizations, in addition to looking after Memorial Day and the Fourth of July observances, should appoint committees immediately *to fight this Red army in our midst!*' These remarks of William J. Burns, director of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, before the Allied Patriotic Societies at New York, February 7, would not have been made by a trained investigator, had not the facts as to patriotic organizations justified, at least in part, this criticism.

"The honesty and good intentions of patriotic organizations are not questioned, but unless they 'get up and say something,' or do something for law enforcement, and against radical legislation and propaganda, they ought to close up shop. . . . We could name half a dozen patriotic organizations, whose sincerity nobody would challenge, which, in spite of their excellent facilities, are actually doing nothing but following this policy of trying to 'look like patriots' and all the rest of it, with 'a good deal of talk about the Constitution,' 'our forefathers' and 'the spirit of our institutions.'

"For example, one patriotic society is deeply concerned about the correct use of the Flag—while apparently unconscious that the agents of a murderous foreign Government, in violation of our laws, are organizing to destroy this nation. Another is worried because only 28,000,000 Americans voted in 1920, but apparently unconcerned with what George Washington called 'the basis of our political system,' 'the right of the people to make and alter their Constitution.' A

third deplores unconstitutional legislation, but cannot afford to get into any 'controversies' about it!

"That organization issues excellent tracts about the Constitution but assures us that if it discussed current legislation it would 'get into hot water at once with its members.'

"A fourth wants to know why charges with specifications were filed against Communist leaders under Federal Statutes when it would have been so nice to talk about the Soviet invitation to Congressmen who have declined to accept it!"

While we would not suggest following up with deeds the words that constitute the propaganda of professional patriotism, we note the truth of much of this indictment by one of those on the inside.

So much of the literature has been loose and hysterical that it has resulted in suits for libel, or in successful demands for public retractions. These instances are numerous, and only a few need be cited.

The United Americans in a pamphlet charged the Committee of 48 with being a Bolshevik organization. The Committee, a progressive political group without connections with any other party or movement, at once sued for damages in the name of its chairman, J. A. H. Hopkins. The case was settled out of court, the United Americans paying the Committee $1,000, and publishing a retraction as well.

R. M. Whitney of the American Defense So-

ciety, author of the series of articles on the "Reds in America" first published in the Boston *Transcript,* charged Capt. Paxton Hibben, a United States Army Reserve Officer, with disloyalty to the interests of the United States by alleged pro-Soviet and revolutionary views, and made charges also against his personal character. Capt. Hibben at once sued the *Transcript* for $100,000. While the case was pending for trial, Capt. Hibben was investigated by an army board, and completely cleared of all charges. The *Transcript* thereupon published the findings with its own retraction, and the suit was dropped.

Two suits for libel are now pending in the New York courts, one, with four complainants, against the American Defense Society and Fred R. Marvin of the New York *Commercial* based on the Society's pamphlet "Socialism, LaFolletteism and the Reds," which charged LaFollette supporters with being Bolsheviks under the control of Moscow. Each of the four suits is for $25,000 damages. They were brought by Arthur Garfield Hays, McAlister Coleman, Mrs. Eva Frank and J. A. H. Hopkins, all active in the LaFollette campaign in New York. The other suit was brought in 1925 by Madam Rosika Schwimmer of Chicago against Fred R. Marvin and the New York *Commercial* for charging her with being a German spy during the war and with being a Bolshevik after it.

PROFESSIONAL PATRIOTIC JOURNALS

Only two periodicals are devoted exclusively to professional patriotism—the *Woman Patriot,* published in Washington by a group of the old anti-suffrage crowd headed by Miss Mary Kilbreth, former president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and the *Patriot* recently started as the monthly personal organ of Mr. Jacob Cash of New York, founder of the United States Patriotic Society.

There have been others in the field, however, in the last few years—*The Weekly News Letter* of the Better America Federation, still goes on. *The American Citizen,* published by the American Constitutional Association in West Virginia for two years, has been discontinued, but a monthly with the same name is now issued by the American Citizenship Foundation.

A number of publications devoted to more general purposes specialize in the particular brand of hysterical patriotism represented by the professional societies. Chief among them are the New York *Commercial,** with its section specializing in daily reports of subversive movements; the *National Republic* (formerly the *National Republican,* which until 1924 was the official organ of the Republican National Committee), a monthly journal published in Washington by George B. Lockwood, the man who sent Blair Coan, detective and confidential political agent, to Montana in the

* See footnote on page 90 for death notice of the *Commercial.*

spring of 1924 to get the "low down on Senator Wheeler."

Many daily papers and periodicals have taken up the super-patriotic propaganda in times of excitement over strikes and Reds, notably the Chicago *Tribune,* and the *Delineator,* which ran the Calvin Coolidge series on the Reds in the Colleges in 1921. Some of the worst of it was broadcast through the news agencies of the American Federation of Labor during its drives on radicals in the unions and its campaigns against the recognition of Soviet Russia. Mr. Ford's *Dearborn Independent* published the "spider web chart," and other fantastic material on the Red—as well as the Jewish—"menace." The *Army and Navy Journal* and other military periodicals have used the propaganda issued by the "patriots." (See page 129.)

The former *National Civic Federation Review,* suspended in 1921, and the *American Federationist* under Samuel Gompers, with Chester M. Wright as editor, ran a great deal of Mr. Easley's material. There was also a short-lived periodical *Industrial Progress,* published by a Washington newspaper man, Henry Harrison Lewis, now engaged in selling another journal, *Better Understanding in Industry,* to business men and rich farmers.

The Woman Patriot was started in 1922 by the anti-suffragists, financed by Senator James W. Wadsworth of New York, who was one of the

most ardent opponents of suffrage. Its editor is J. S. Eichelberger, also an aggressive anti. The paper is dedicated to the "defense of the family and the state," and "against feminism and socialism," and attacks Quakers, women's peace movements, the Federal Children's Bureau, Judge Ben Lindsey, the child labor amendment, and such progressive women as Miss Julia Lathrop, first head of the Children's Bureau, Miss Grace Abbott, its present chief, Miss Jeannette Rankin and Mrs. Florence Kelley. Mrs. Kelley is described by Miss Mary G. Kilbreth, the President of the *Woman Patriot,* as "perhaps the ablest legislative general communism has produced," who has "steadily introduced socialism into the flesh and blood of America." The *Woman Patriot* broadcasts the propaganda of the Defense Society, the Civic Federation, and other agencies, and is in close touch with the National Association of Manufacturers and its chief Washington lobbyist, Mr. James A. Emery.

The section of the New York *Commercial* * devoted to exposing "subversive movements," and headed the "Searchlight Department" began in 1923, with the advent of Fred R. Marvin, a newspaperman formerly with the *Mountain States Banker* of Denver. He reported the trial of the

* Since this was prepared the New York *Commercial* has merged with the New York *Journal of Commerce.* Mr. Marvin is now associated with the *National Republic* but the Key Men of America continues its work as before, now at 120 W. 42nd St., New York City. Subscribers to the *National Republic* receive Mr. Marvin's "daily sheet service" both for $8.00 per year.

Communists in St. Joseph, Michigan, for several papers, speaking also in the neighborhood before business and other organizations on "the Menace of Bolshevism." His connection with the *Commercial* began immediately thereafter. It is an old paper, established in 1795, and has long been known as reactionary in its political and economic views. It is strongly open-shop.

Those who read Mr. Marvin's column are invited to become "Key Men of America," who agree to preserve and file under an elaborately numbered filing system each day's revelations. Each Key Man is promised confidential information, and invited to use it where it will do most good. Mr. Marvin modestly claimed for his Key Men in 1924 the credit of rendering "this nation a remarkable service in defeating socialism and communism which was manifested through the third ticket headed by LaFollette and Wheeler."

The New York *Commercial* announced in September, 1926, that the Key Men of America would become a separate organization independent of the Searchlight column of the paper. It states that it will not conflict with other patriotic bodies and that its aim is to supply all such organizations with "correct information and data upon which they can proceed in their own way through their members." The Advisory Council of the new organization includes officials of the Associated Employers of Indianapolis, the National Founders Association, the National Clay Products In-

dustries Association, the Citizens Alliance of St. Paul, the Employers Association of Jackson, Michigan and the Builders' Exchange of San Francisco. In addition representatives from practically all the patriotic associations are on the council as well as the leading lights of the Chemical Warfare Reserve and the Military Intelligence Association.

The organization announces that among other duties its members should be prepared to "help stop the growth of Communism and Socialism," "work for industrial freedom," "keep informed through the Information Bureau of all subversive and radical movements," "keep the Information Bureau posted on local activities of radical movements," and "assist local newspapers to secure and print information that will aid in this character of work." The membership fee in the organization is $12 per year which includes the "daily information service of the organization" appearing on the editorial page of the *Commercial.**

One of Mr. Marvin's latest feats is reflected in an editorial in the New York *World* (May 8, 1926) under the title, "Another Red Conspiracy Yarn":

"*The Army and Navy Journal* engages in a very curious enterprise when it prints an article under the headline 'Oil "Scandals" Engineered by Radicals,' by Fred

* See footnote, page 90.

R. Marvin. Mr. Marvin is introduced as editor in chief of the New York *Commercial,* who is 'accepted as the best-posted man in the United States on the origin, nature, purpose, methods and systems of the various radical and subversive organizations now infesting the United States and engaged in seeking to overthrow this Government.' ''

In effect, Mr. Marvin undertakes to make it appear, somehow, that the naval ''oil scandals,'' as he calls them, were part of a Bolshevist or Communist plot. How, he does not show. He does assert that after the Senate investigating committee set to work, ''the publicity work which followed was guided largely by the Socialist and Communist movements in this country.'' Any such statement can hardly be charged to a faulty memory. But, as Mr. Marvin tells the story, when the cases went into the Federal Courts the truth came out: ''There was no scandal. No one sought to rob the Government.'' Judge Kennedy, in the Teapot Dome case, he cites as holding everything was all right. But the Russian conspiracy resulted in preventing ''fuel-oil tanks at strategic points,'' and so on, from being used for the benefit of the navy.

Then in Mr. Marvin's text, under the heading ''Schemers Win Their Desires,'' comes this: ''But the incident, played up as it was because it came with the magic name 'scandal,' accomplished what the original projectors of the scheme expected it would accomplish. . . . The 'strategic' play of Zinovieff was a success.''

What is the conceivable purpose of publishing such fluff?

In connection with Mr. Marvin's articles the *Army and Navy Journal* ran an essay contest, the

essays dealing with "the most effective remedy against pacifist propaganda." The announcement of this essay contest contained the statement that "the *Army and Navy Journal* will furnish the information upon which the essays may be based." Mr. Marvin signed this announcement.

VII

INTER-RELATIONS AND CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER AGENCIES

It is perhaps to be expected that men so active in promoting their personal conceptions of patriotism should work with any and all organizations that express their bias. Interlocking directorates are therefore common. They prove nothing but community of interest, but since the professional patriots are continually hurling the charges of interlocking directorates against the organizations they attack, it is interesting to note how well they themselves know how to use the system. The late President of the National Civic Federation was on the executive committee of the American Defense Society, and vice-versa, not ex-officio, but just because Mr. Alton B. Parker and Mr. Elon H. Hooker were such earnest and substantial citizens. The late Louis A. Coolidge protested against the child labor amendment both as head of the Welfare Department of the Civic Federation and as president of the Sentinels of the Republic.

The societies all respond in about the same fashion and at the same time to any threat to their conceptions of patriotism—whether the occasion

is a movement to recognize Russia or to push the child labor amendment. It is a natural community of interest. The interlocking directorates are effects, not causes. A union of forces is sometimes attempted as in the "Red clean-up week" attempted in 1924. But on the whole there is no organized coöperation.

Lack of unity in this work has prompted efforts at federation on several occasions—one by the American Legion in 1924 in calling a general conference in Washington, ostensibly on Americanization, which came to nothing; and another by the Allied Patriotic Societies, a paper organization with no real backing.

The *Woman Patriot* has repeatedly urged closer coöperation, but with little effect. The Better America Federation in Los Angeles evidently works closely with the national agencies, distributing the Defense Society and Security League pamphlets, and the attack on the Y.W.C.A. as radical, issued by the National Founders' Association.

They all lean on each other and use the pamphlet literature as well as their more "confidential information." For example, the National Clay Products Industries Association reports that it coöperates "with over thirty distinctly civic and patriotic organizations, many of which do not correlate their own efforts, hence our files have become sort of a 'clearing house' for practically everything that they issue."

RELATIONS TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND DEPARTMENTS

But far more significant than any relations between themselves is the relation of these organizations to government officials. The extent to which they can get confidential information in secret service files, their influence in promoting prosecutions or "Red raids," and their incitement to a narrow chauvinism in public officers—all are important in shaping public policy. On the other hand, public officials have made use of them for their own political purposes, quoting their alleged "facts" to justify some repressive measure or anti-red scare.

The story of these connections is too long to more than sketch. It is told in detail in the Senatorial hearings on the Department of Justice in 1924, and on the resolution to impeach Attorney-General Daugherty. It also came out in the investigation by a Senate Committee of Attorney-General Palmer's red raids in 1920. This investigation, which followed charges of illegal practices made by twelve eminent lawyers, brought out the following facts about the patrioteering organizations:

1st, they had access to confidential files of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice during the régime of William J. Burns as chief, and used that material to spread that propaganda and defame many citizens;

2nd, they inspired action by prosecutors and secret service agents of the government in cases that did not deserve attention, as later developments proved, and served only to give some color to hysterical charges about the plot of Reds to overthrow the government;

3rd, they prompted various officials to espouse their notions of patriotism in terms of the "Red menace" and to incorporate it in their speeches, reports, articles, and in one case—American Education Week—in an official educational program. Notable in this latter group were the articles published over the signature of Calvin Coolidge on the "Reds in our Colleges" in the *Delineator* in 1921. The material was obviously furnished by these professional patriotic agencies.

Specifically under this general head are the following facts. Documentary evidence or admissions are of course difficult to get in so delicate a field of relations.

1. The personal relations of Mr. Easley of the Civic Federation and Mr. William J. Burns have been close, and were particularly close during Mr. Burns' incumbency in the Department of Justice. Mr. Easley is said to have taken credit for Mr. Burns' appointment.

2. Mr. Burns spent most of his energies in the Bureau attacking Reds, constantly using as an argument for increased appropriations the fact that only the secret service could know the danger and that the danger was so great that many more

agents were needed. He officially stated in 1924 that there were "over 600,000 Reds affiliated with Moscow in the United States, ready to overthrow this government." He constantly gave out interviews to this effect, spoke at meetings of the patriotic societies as well as over the radio, attacking various liberal and progressive organizations.

3. Mr. Burns resigned after the retirement from office of Attorney-General Daugherty. Attorney-General Stone at once put the Bureau in its proper place as the legal investigating arm of the Department, and closed its files to inspection by private agencies. He stopped the anti-radical propaganda which had gone out from the Department under his predecessors, Palmer and Daugherty, and none has gone out since.

4. Mr. Samuel Gompers, though long opposed to Mr. Burns as a labor spy and the representative of anti-union employers, had a common interest with him while he was in the Department. Both were fighting Reds—Mr. Gompers in the unions, Mr. Burns, anywhere. Mr. Easley was the friend of both. So there was, in effect, a most extraordinary alliance—the secret service, organized labor, and big business, all united in a patriotic effort to down radicalism. Mr. Easley in a confidential pamphlet says of the situation:

"It is important to recall here that in 1920, Mr. Burns, knowing of Mr. Gompers' patriotic activities during the war, and also of the fight being made upon

him by the Reds, sent to his clientele among the employers of the country a confidential circular stating in effect: 'It is important at this time that the employers of the country uphold the hands of Samuel Gompers because the I. W. W. elements are fighting him at every turn; and, whatever our opposition to Mr. Gompers on certain questions may be, there is no comparison between present conditions and those which would obtain if the I. W. W. policies should win and the A. F. of L. be destroyed.' "

5. Mr. Easley raised a considerable sum of money to help Mr. Burns finance work in connection with the prosecution of communists in Michigan, which could not be paid for from public funds.

6. Mr. Burns coöperated with R. M. Whitney of the American Defense Society in publishing the material seized by the state in the Michigan case. This was the property of the government held under a search warrant, yet Mr. Burns allowed Mr. Whitney to use it before the trial, in newspaper articles for which Mr. Whitney was well paid. These articles, incidentally, occasioned a number of libel suits and retractions by the offending papers.

7. It is significant that while giving out information to these patriotic societies, Mr. Burns replied to a letter from the National Council for the Prevention of War requesting to see the evidence he had back of his charges against it:

"I must advise you that it has long been the practice of the Bureau to hold its files confidential and available for confidential use only; and I regret that under this rule it would be impossible for me to answer your inquiry."

8. Attorney-General Daugherty and Mr. Burns' zeal evidently inspired the following announcement by Henry Harrison Lewis in his paper *Industrial Progress.* This is in the January, 1924, issue, under the heading: "If there is Bolshevik Activity in your Neighborhood, Notify the Department of Justice at Washington."

"Here is an invitation and a command to search diligently for every sign and vestige of efforts in plants and in daily contacts to promote the economic, political and social chaos that furnishes the fertile soil for Bolshevism. . . .

"Each has a duty that should be a patriotic privilege: to ferret out the sly agents of anarchy, to mark their comings and goings and associations and to lead them and their dupes into the light of day. The Department of Justice of the United States, dedicated to the continued welfare of all the people, will welcome such aid on the part of energetic citizens, and a personal sense of duty to country well performed will yield to them a permanent satisfaction."

Captain Sidney Howard, dramatist, and author of the "Labor Spy," writing on the professional patriots in the *New Republic,* September 10, 1924,

describes the close relation of these organizations to the government departments:

"The militant patriots were publicity agents for Mr. Burns. When he hadn't evidence to convict these 'so-called liberals' and worse, he turned the patriots loose in his treasure house of rumors and portentous subversive documents. There was meat for them and precious little danger of libel suits, too, with such authority behind them. Dwight Braman sat in the offices of the Allied Patriotic Societies, Inc., and boasted that he was 'in almost daily communication with the Department of Justice.' Ralph Easley printed the Burns assistance right out in his prospectus of the National Civic Federation's forthcoming Survey of Progress. A survey of progress, by the National Civic Federation, by the way, is not without certain elements of humor. But they had 'the co-operation of governmental agencies at Washington.' And no one, except possibly Mr. Whitney of the American Defense Society, called more frequently than Mr. Easley on the Bureau of Investigation. These calls provided, one surmises, a convenient link between sworn enemies, Mr. Burns and Easley's pal, Sam Gompers; provided, too, a convenient source of A. F. of L. propaganda against renegade unions. As to R. M. Whitney he loved to write letters about his dependence on the Burns files. He proclaimed it to the lawyers of the Foster defense. And letters written to the Department in confidence by the National Student Forum came out in Mr. Whitney's pamphlets. You and I couldn't have gotten into those Burns files. But then we were not militant patriots, and therefore, of no use to Mr. Burns."

THE SPIDER-WEB CHART

An absurd but irritating piece of propaganda which caused a widespread protest from women's organizations was the so-called "spider-web chart" prepared in 1923 by Miss Lucia R. Maxwell, librarian of the Chemical Warfare Service of the War Department headed by General Amos Fries. It illustrates the influence of certain hysterical professional patriots upon a highly important branch of a federal department. The chart was prepared apparently for the use of the *Woman Patriot,* for it is inscribed to Miss Mary Kilbreth of that journal "with appreciation of her work." Its name refers to the web of lines between organizations and women leaders which are intended to tie together in an international conspiracy, directed, of course, from Moscow, all the chief women's organizations in the country.

It is aimed primarily at the National Council for the Prevention of War and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, headed by Jane Addams, and shows the connection with these two peace societies of women in organizations represented in the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, headed by Mrs. Maude Wood Park of the National League of Women Voters. The chart, which was distributed as a photostat copy of an ink drawing, about one by two feet, is headed "The Socialist-Pacifist Move-

ment in America is an absolutely Fundamental and Integral part of International Socialism."

Of its three columns, one lists organizations of such character as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the National League of Women Voters, and the other two list women who are active both in peace movements and women's clubs. By connecting them up with their organizations, and the organizations with the National Council for the Prevention of War—a clearing house for anti-militarist effort—Miss Maxwell of course proves direct contact with Moscow. The naïve theory underlying that proof is that the object of the whole pacifist movement is to disarm the United States so the Bolsheviks can take it. And it is seriously believed by persons of the caliber of Miss Maxwell and her military superiors.

Miss Maxwell's attitude is best characterized by the verse written by her which appears at the bottom of the chart, entitled "Miss Bolsheviki." It reads:

> Miss Bolsheviki has come to town,
> With a Russian cap and a German gown,
> In *women's clubs* she's sure to be found,
> For she's come to *disarm* AMERICA.
>
> She sits in judgment on Capitol Hill,
> And watches the *appropriation bill,*
> And without her O.K., it passes—NIL
> For she's there to *disarm* AMERICA.

She uses the movie and lyceum too,
And alters text-books to suit her view,
She prates propaganda from pulpit and pew,
For she's bound to *disarm* AMERICA.

The male of the specie has a different plan,
He uses the bomb and the fire brand,
And incites class hatred wherever he can
While she's busy *disarming* AMERICA.

His special stunt is arousing the mob,
To expropriate and hate and kill and rob,
While she's working on her *political job,*
AWAKE! AROUSE!! AMERICA!!!

The publication of the chart at once aroused protests from the women's organizations, both for its perversion and misstatement of facts, and its deceptive purpose. Mrs. Maude Wood Park, chairman of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, wrote Secretary of War John W. Weeks, and a committee of women called on him to demand the chart's withdrawal and its repudiation by the War Department. Mr. Weeks responded by doing both, writing to Mrs. Park as follows:

"With reference to the letter from your committee, dated April 2, complaining of the injustice done your organization by the circulation of a chart by a subordinate in the War Department, you are informed that all the charts complained of in the possession of the Chemical Warfare Service have been ordered destroyed.

General Fries has been directed to inform all persons that there are errors in the chart and to request their destruction.

"I regret the charts containing the errors pointed out by your committee were circulated by any branch of the War Department."

Very sincerely,
(Signed) JOHN W. WEEKS.

Despite the Secretary of War's action the chart continued to be distributed, apparently through the agencies with which Miss Maxwell was co-operating and for whom she had prepared it. The chart had appeared in slightly modified form in the *Dearborn Independent,* Henry Ford's weekly, for March 22, 1924, with an anonymous article signed "by an American Citizen," attacking the leading women's organizations of the country as defenders equally of pacifism and Bolshevism. Later in 1924 the New York *World* in a series of articles exposing the militaristic activities of General Fries, General Bowley and others, told the whole story in detail. It is of no importance to go into it here, or to mention the other minor personalities involved.

It is significant, however, to note that Attorney-General Daugherty regarded Miss Maxwell's achievement kindly, writing her, "I do not know how I should have got along without it." And it is reliably reported that Mr. R. M. Whitney of the American Defense Society urged that she be granted the Distinguished Service Medal!

THE LUSK COMMITTEE

The so-called Lusk Committee to investigate "revolutionary activities" illustrates relationship of the professional patriots to the government of a single state. It was appointed by authority of a resolution of the New York Legislature in March, 1919, as a result of the efforts of a committee of the Union League Club of New York headed by a young lawyer, Archibald E. Stevenson. It took its popular name from its chairman, Senator Clayton R. Lusk. Its formidable official title was "Report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities." For over a year this committee pursued a romantic and spectacular course of unearthing conspiracies to overthrow the government. It wound up in almost universal discredit because of overplaying the game, unable to make good on its lurid charges. Its chief case was thrown out of the courts, the two laws it sponsored for the control of the loyalty of schools and teachers in New York were repealed by the Legislature in 1923 and its part in throwing out of the legislature of 1920 the five duly elected Socialist assemblymen was condemned throughout the country. Senator Lusk was shortly after publicly discredited for accepting an expensive gift of a silver service from lobbyists for the New York police, who were seeking a legislative raise in pay. He retired to private life.

The Committee deserves attention now only because its monumental four-volume report on "Revolutionary Radicalism" still serves as a source-book, a virtual Bible for the professional patriots, despite its gross exaggerations and misstatements, its solemn nonsense and its classification of all progressive groups as reds. The four volumes are divided into Parts 1 and 2, "Subversive Movements," Parts 3 and 4, "Constructive Measures." They total 10,983 pages. The book cost the state over $100,000 to prepare and print. Copies were distributed to libraries, patriotic organizations, officials, educators and men and women in public life.

The Committee from the start was dominated by its assistant counsel, Mr. Stevenson, who did the prodigious amount of work (at a good compensation) which the committee's activities and editorial efforts required. Mr. Stevenson brought to the Committee a sincere zeal as the savior of American institutions menaced by pacifism and Bolshevism. He had devoted himself during the war to secret service work for the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department, enlisting the aid of a group of wealthy young men in the Union League Club as volunteers. He served himself only in a voluntary capacity under Captain Trevor of the New York office. When he appeared in January, 1919, before a United States Senate sub-committee then investigating "Bolshevism," he produced the results of his re-

searches into radicalism and pacifism, creating a sensation by reading into the record a list of 62 persons holding "dangerous, destructive and anarchistic sentiments," among them Jane Addams, Bishop Paul Jones, Dr. David Starr Jordan, Prof. George W. Kirchwey and Lillian D. Wald. He was promptly repudiated by Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, who issued this statement:

"I am in receipt of telegrams and letters with regard to a list of persons handed to the Senate Committee by Mr. Archibald Stevenson, who is represented in newspaper articles as a member of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department. Mr. Stevenson has never been an employee or an officer of the M.I.D of the War Department. I am told that he and a number of his associates have throughout the war sought to analyze books and newspaper contributions with a view to determining the opinions of their writers toward the war. I personally have no sympathy with the publication of lists of persons classified with reference to their supposed opinions, and grouped under general designations, such as 'pacifists,' which may mean any one of a dozen things, some of them quite consistent with the finest loyalty to the country and some of them inconsistent with such loyalty.

"As a matter of fact the War Department does not undertake to censor the opinions of the people of the United States. It has no authority to classify such opinions. In the particular list accredited to Mr. Stevenson, there are names of people of great distinction, exalted purity of purpose, and lifelong devotion to the highest interests of America and mankind. Miss Jane

Addams, for instance, lends dignity and greatness to any list in which her name appears." (New York *Times,* January 28, 1919.)

Undaunted, Mr. Stevenson pegged away with his Union League backing, and succeeded in getting the Lusk Committee established under the following resolution of the legislature:

"Whereas, it is a matter of public knowledge that there is a large number of persons within the State of New York circulating propaganda calculated to set in motion forces to overthrow the government of this State and the United States, and

"Whereas, sufficient facts were adduced by the subcommittee of the United States Senate investigating this subject during the last session of Congress to indicate the necessity of further inquiry and action, and

"Whereas, it is the duty of the Legislature of the State of New York to learn the whole truth regarding these seditious activities, and to pass, when such truth is ascertained, such legislation as may be necessary to protect the government of the State and to insure the maintenance of rights of its citizens, now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, that a joint committee of the Senate and Assembly be and hereby is created, to consist of four members of the Senate appointed by the Speaker of the Assembly, of which joint committee the Temporary President of the Senate and the Speaker of the Assembly shall be members ex officio, to investigate the scope, tendencies, and ramifications of such seditious activities, and to report the result of its investigation to the Legislature."

It is useless now to go into the story of the Committee's spectacular raids on radical headquarters, its fantastic prophecies and charges, its illegal and high-handed seizures of property and examination of witnesses. It is enough to summarize the net results of the Committee's two years of activity at great expense to the state.

1st. Its raids on the Soviet business offices in New York, on the Rand School and on the Russian People's House produced no convictions in the courts, indeed, no incriminating evidence against any one—and achieved nothing to justify the Committee's charges of a conspiracy against the Government.

2nd. It succeeded in prosecuting and convicting two unknown Finnish editors of radical papers under the criminal anarchy act. It played some part in the prosecuting of others under that act—notably Benjamin Gitlow and James Larkin for the publication of a manifesto in a radical paper.

3rd. It inspired the action of the Legislature in ousting five duly elected Socialist assemblymen, an attack on the foundations of representative government which aroused protests from the N. Y. Bar Association, most of the leading newspapers and many distinguished men in public life, among them conspicuously Mr. Charles Evans Hughes.

4th. It prepared and secured the passage of two laws known as the Lusk Laws, one to control the loyalty of all private schools by requiring a state license to operate, and the other to control the loyalty of all public school teachers by requiring of them an oath to support the constitution and laws, and prohibiting them from

advocating any change in them. Passed in 1921 these laws were repealed in 1923 after the Democratic Party had made them a campaign issue, and after protests from almost every organization of teachers in the state.

These achievements, with the four-volume memorial, tell the whole story of the Lusk Committee. It was so thoroughly discredited that even its own friends privately warned others from using its reports. It should be added that Mr. Stevenson, somewhat discouraged by the lack of appreciation of his well-intentioned efforts to save the nation, has nevertheless carried on in a less conspicuous rôle. He has attached himself to the National Civic Federation, where he is the chairman of a standing committee on "Free Speech," and otherwise active in promoting Mr. Easley's conception of patriotism.

VIII

CONNECTIONS WITH MILITARY MEN AND ORGANIZATIONS

The close relationship of the professional patriotic societies to army officers may be further observed in a brief review of some of the recent attacks made by these officers and various military bodies on organizations working for international peace and good-will. The spider-web chart and its Chemical Warfare Service backers illustrate the style. Other examples are found among the miscellaneous colonels and retired major-generals who rush about speaking before Lions and Rotary Clubs, and Chambers of Commerce. We relate a few typical instances of army men whose inspiration has been the Lusk Report and the publications of the professional patriotic league and societies:

Colonel William M. Mumm of the Mumm-Romer-Jaycox Company of Columbus, Ohio, appeared before a Congressional Committee to denounce the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the National Council for the Prevention of War, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. He also wrote (during May, 1926) sev-

eral articles for the New York *Commercial* in which he exposes "the ramification of the 'pacifist' movement" and the pamphlet on Military Training in Schools and Colleges of the United States by Winthrop D. Lane. This he called "boring from within"—and worse. Colonel Mumm is connected with the Reserve Officers Association in Columbus.

In the same manner, and using practically the same material, Colonel Hanford MacNider, Assistant Secretary of War, in an address in March, 1926, before the Women's Republican Club of New York, attacks the pacifists whom he identified as "paid agitators, sentimental sob sisters and Reds who are seeking to undermine our form of Government." He declared that the pacifist "is more often than not on the receiving end of some organization." He attacked the signers of the Winthrop Lane pamphlet and particularly Miss Jane Addams and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, John Nevin Sayre, John Brophy, James H. Maurer, Oswald Garrison Villard. Before the Boston Women's Republican Club he made a similar attack.

Apparently inspired from the same source, Major General Eli A. Helmick, Inspector General of the United States Army, addressed the Women Builders of America in New York City attacking the "advanced revolutionary pacifists," while in Washington, before the Daughters of 1812, he lectured on "Menaces Facing our Country To-day."

In these addresses he usually denounced 31 organizations, chiefly those devoted to peace and to fighting compulsory military training bills. He has also denounced the American Civil Liberties Union, Miss Addams and Mrs. Catt, and has told how "the arm of the Soviet has reached into Vassar and Bryn Mawr colleges." Moreover, he attacked the dean of the Harvard Law School and three of its professors presumably because Albert Weisbord, leader of the Passaic textile strike of 1926-27, was a graduate of that institution.

Among those using the material of the professional patriotic societies, there are also such War Department spokesmen as W. S. Hendrick, civilian aide to the Secretary of War, Eighth Corps Area, who from San Antonio, Texas, issued 50 pages of attack on the Lane pamphlet, and by inference attacked the many distinguished citizens whose names were attached to it, such as Senators Borah and Norris, ex-Governor William E. Sweet of Colorado, Professor John Dewey, three bishops and 14 clergymen. Hendrick claimed to represent the Military Training Camps Association whose central headquarters are in Chicago, and whose activities are supposed to be confined to boosting the Citizens' Military Training Camps.

The close relationship of Fred R. Marvin of the New York *Commercial* and the American Defense Society to all these army officers may be gathered from Mr. Marvin's series of articles

which ran in the *Army and Navy Journal* in the spring of 1926 (see page 92). Several of them attack the advocates of peace and international good will. All of the War Department men use the Marvin material and other rehashed items from the notorious Lusk Report.

A typical verbal assault on progressive movements by big army advocates was made in 1925 on the League for Industrial Democracy in the pages of the Bulletin of the 83rd Division of the U. S. Army and in the *Quartermaster Review.* Other army officers took up the false charges which consisted of "treason" and references to the circulation of a so-called "slacker's oath." When these charges were investigated they were found to have originated with Mr. Marvin who is systematic in his slanderous attacks on the L.I.D. When Mr. Marvin was asked to produce evidence to prove his lying charges he failed as usual to reply. Mr. Norman Thomas, a director of the League, refers to Marvin's statements as "childish and malicious misrepresentations."

One of the earlier army officer mix-ups with the peace societies is described by Leonard Cline in "The War on the Peace Seekers" (*New Republic,* July 2, 1924):

"So we arrive at the episode of Brigadier-General Albert J. Bowley. Speaking always with the agreement that his utterances shall not be given to the press, General Bowley has declared that activities of the Soviet

Reds have been reflected in such organizations as the Y.W.C.A. (cheers from the business men), that our colleges are teaching our young people pacifism and communism; that Carrie Chapman Catt and Jane Addams are 'the reddest of the reds.' We have no time, however, to consider more than his speech before the Chamber of Commerce at Columbus, Ohio, on March 7.

"As usual, General Bowley exacted the promise that there should be no newspaper account of his talk. But when it was over five of his auditors, outraged, swore to affidavits recounting what he said. He attacked the National Council for Prevention of War, among whose officers are such persons as Mrs. Catt, Miss Addams, President Hibben of Princeton, President Lowell of Harvard, Maude Wood Park, Julia C. Lathrop, William Allen White, Mrs. Louis D. Brandeis, Dr. John A. Ryan of the Catholic University of America. In particular, he attacked Frederick J. Libby, executive secretary.

"He declared, according to the affidavits, that Mr. Libby was educated for the promotion of Communism in Russia or by Russians; that after returning from Russia he taught Communism in Pennsylvania; that he is a Communist; and that he and an associate take turns visiting Russia to get instructions from the Soviet government; that the Council is the tool of the Soviets and its constructive measures are a cloak to hide its sinister designs; that the Council and Mr. Libby want to overthrow our government by violence.

"Immediately there was a hue of indignation. General Bowley was asked for proofs. He promised them. Not one so far has he supplied.* His very associates

* He had still furnished no proofs up to the time this book went to press.

have admitted that he went too far, drawing inferences not justifiable from the evidence. Fred R. Marvin, editor of the Searchlight column in the New York *Commercial,* one of those to whom General Bowley went pleading for help in his predicament, was unable to say more than that 'It is possible that in his (General Bowley's) address in Columbus he used expressions which, if literally construed, he could not prove; but as to his real purpose no honest citizen can question him.' ''

The activitives of other army professional propagandists is told by Mr. Cline in a subsequent article (*New Republic,* July 9, 1924), as follows:

''There is, for instance, the activity of Lieutenant-Colonel H. H. Sheets. We have at hand a copy of a letter sent by Colonel Sheets to Dr. John A. Ryan of the Catholic University of America, who is on the executive board of the National Council for Prevention of War. Dr. Ryan had delivered an address before the convention of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Colonel Sheets demanded answers to a list of questions which imputed to the League and to Dr. Ryan as well a program of violent communistic doctrines. Religious prejudice was brought out boldly in the letter, which concluded, 'Are you willing to be branded as a self-appointed destroyer of the nation?' Copies of this letter were sent to the press.

''And there is the incessant propagandizing of such journals as the *Army and Navy Register.* An article in the November 10, 1923, issue of this organ declared that $3,000,000 in gold had been sent into the United States by the 'Communistic International.' On the return from

Europe of Frederick J. Libby of the National Council for Prevention of War, a campaign to wipe out our army and navy would begin, the article declared, 'so that when the red uprising comes the country will be at its mercy.'"

What has been done to counteract these absurd statements from military sources? Mr. Cline reports:

"On several occasions, efforts have been made to point out to the War Department the impropriety and unfairness of the attacks the military men have been making. More than a year ago, a delegation called on Secretary Weeks, following a speech by General Fries at Kansas City in which he declared that the purpose of the National Council for Prevention of War is to establish Communism in this country."

On the committee were such people as Charles A. Lyman, of the Farmers' National Union; Marian Parkhurst, of the National League of Women Voters; Ethel Smith, of the National Women's Trade Union League; Frances F. Bernard, of the American Association of University Women (now dean of Smith College); and Mrs. Henry Fenimore Baker, president of the National War Service Legion. Secretary Weeks gave them to understand that General Fries would be required to mind his own business. . . . Shortly after this the spider-web chart appeared. (See page 103.)

What happened to the spider-web chart we have already indicated. It was only an unusually

ludicrous specimen of the work of the professional patriots in the army coöperating with the professional civilian fascists and chauvinists.

Another army man who recently joined in the attack is Lieutenant Colonel George Chase Lewis, of the 95th division of infantry stationed at Oklahoma City. He attempted to defame John Nevin Sayre, vice-chairman of the Committee on Militarism in Education, and to prevent his getting a hearing when he spoke at the University of Oklahoma in December, 1926.

Colonel Lewis wrote and telegraphed the president of the university describing Mr. Sayre as more dangerous than an avowed Communist. He warned the president that Sayre would speak for a congressional measure which would cut off appropriations for the stationing of army officers to give military training in colleges and high schools. He tried to connect Sayre with communists in the usual way—by referring darkly to his work on behalf of a fair trial and free speech for communists arrested under a criminal syndicalist law. He used as his authority for his information about Sayre the late R. M. Whitney's "Reds in America." He closed his letter to the president, "I trust you will be able to curtail pernicious activities at Norman" (the university town). Finally, when he was unable to prevent Mr. Sayre's meeting he came to it, made some preposterous charges against the speaker, failed absolutely to substantiate a single one.

Out of this incident developed a correspondence between Mr. Sayre and Dwight F. Davis, Secretary of War, in which Mr. Davis declared that Colonel Lewis was expressing "personal views" and that the War Department could not and would not interfere with the practice of such officers in signing their full military signatures to assaults on liberals and persons working against military training in the schools.

In reply to this position Mr. Sayre wrote to Mr. Davis on December 30, 1926. He cited various attacks by army men and closed as follows:

"If the gentlemen to whom I have referred were all expressing only individual views as individual citizens, but yet permitted the use of their titles as 'Lt.-Col. U. S. Infantry,' 'Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War,' and 'Assistant Secretary of War,' how in the world can the average citizen tell when they are speaking for the War Department and when it is only for themselves?"

A fair number of the attacks, as in the case of Colonel Mumm above mentioned, have come from titled military men connected with the Reserve Officers' Association of the United States and the Military Training Camps' Association of the United States. The former is an unofficial organization, covering the country, with headquarters in Washington, D. C. Colonel Fred B. Ryons is on duty in charge of the Reserves, though the members of the association are not in the service.

Hence the War Department cannot be held accountable for statements made by these officers and their frequent and irresponsible attacks on persons working for peace and other "subversive movements." However, it is known that many of their speeches are prepared by publicity men on the staff of the military intelligence service of the War Department. It has also been discovered that War Department franked envelopes have been illegally used by members of this association in sending out their propaganda against the peace societies and persons connected with the movement for civil liberty. The weighty titles carried by these men often give to the lay mind the impression that their statements are authoritative and official. Hence they have been a powerful factor in the anti-liberal propaganda of the professional societies with the officials of which they have naturally coöperated. The association publishes from its national headquarters "The Reserve Officer," which has been full of attacks on the Committee on Militarism in Education and other peace bodies. A considerable amount of the military intelligence work of the War Department is carried on by members of this association and they are expected to exert a generally "educating influence" for heavy military appropriations and against all persons and organizations daring to question the wisdom of adopting a militarist policy for the United States.

A sample bit of propaganda issued by the R.O.A. is the following letter:

RESERVE OFFICERS' ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNITED STATES
NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION
342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

Office of the President

September 27, 1926.

FELLOW OFFICER:

If any Reserve Officer receiving this Bulletin thinks he has no personal responsibility beyond his own individual training, in advancing the cause of National Defense, let him write (but—NOT as a Reserve Officer) to the National Council for the Prevention of War, 532 17th Street NW, Washington, D. C., for a copy of their pamphlet "Organizations in the U. S. A. that Promote World Peace." If—what you learn from that publication of the scope and strength of the pacifist opposition to Defense does not secure your IMMEDIATE and ACTIVE participation in our work, then may God help the National Defense Act! It will soon be beyond our aid!

The pamphlet contains 34 pages and lists 82 organizations with officers of each, Purposes, Legislative Program and Activities. Some of these societies are working sincerely for World Peace along lines we, as Reserve Officers, can heartily subscribe to. The regrettable feature of their affiliation with this "National Council" is that it associates them with organizations frankly op-

posed to the best interests of our form of government. For instance: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, at one time presided over by the Honorable Elihu Root, is lined up with the League for Industrial Democracy directed by Robert Morss Lovett who is also an active member of the American Civil Liberties Union and other radical groups. (See *Congressional Record* No. 12, Vol. 67, of December 19, 1925, for full exposé.) *

The real reason radical groups oppose Defense is to have the way cleared of all opposition, when their time comes to strike. This explains why they line up with every sort of pacifist movement; why they initiate pacifist societies under different names as a camouflage, through which they are able to secure funds from persons who are for Peace, but who would be shocked at the idea their money is aiding socialist-communist activities.

Now—what have we to oppose the tremendous volume of anti-Defense printed matter and other propaganda being broadcasted by these organizations—over 100 of them? Who are the avowed friends of National Defense? First, naturally, the three components of the Army of the U. S.; then we have the support of the various patriotic societies—the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution—the G.A.R. and its auxiliaries—the Spanish War organizations—The American Legion and Auxiliary —The American Defense Society—The Navy League—National Security League.

Numerically our strength is pitifully small compared with those leagued against us. Spiritually, however, our Cause is a powerful FORCE provided we can put it to work. All will agree that in every community there are far more honest than dishonest people. One is honest

* This is a blast by Congressman Blanton based on the Lusk Report.—Ed.

because of right thinking. Our problem is to get our fellow citizens to THINKING RIGHT on National Defense. Once we get our people THINKING RIGHT on this subject, the catch words and phrases of our opponents such as "Militarism" and the "Militarizing of our schools and colleges," will fall flat.

Below are listed a few of the most important anti-Defense organizations affiliated with the National Council referred to previously. Watch for any sort of activity in your community sponsored by these societies:

Association to Abolish War
American Federation of Teachers
Association for Peace Education *
Church Peace Union
Fellowship of Reconciliation
League for Industrial Democracy
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union
Committee to Outlaw War
Intercollegiate Peace Association
National Students Forum †
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom ‡
Women's Peace Society
Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere

As a Reserve Officer don't you believe it is YOUR obligation to be informed of the forces constantly work-

* Included in their legislative policy is "An Amendment to the Constitution providing for a referendum on war. (How is that for a novel idea?)

† Opposes military training in schools. (This society gets results. Consider the 18th Amendment.)

‡ The first endorser of the Lane booklet against military training in schools is the International President of the W.I.L. Do you remember the Ford Peace Ship back in 1915?. Members of the W.I.L. were among the joy riders.

ing against preparedness? Get the facts! When you are properly posted, National Defense will mean a very great deal more to you and we will not have to be pleading for assistance in the work we are carrying on.

Fill out the application blank on the back of the enclosed bulletin—or, if you are a member, get one of your friends to join! Don't wait—the time to act is now!

Faithfully yours,
Lt. Colonel Fred Cardway,
President.

The secretary-treasurer of the Reserve Officers' Association of the Indiana department contributed his share to the propaganda against peace workers when he mailed out the following letter in an effort to prevent the organization of the Indiana Council on International Relations to which the National Council for the Prevention of War was giving its aid:

RESERVE OFFICERS' ASSOCIATION
OF DEPARTMENT OF INDIANA

INDIANA TRUST BUILDING

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

May 11, 1926. (cas)

The enclosed papers are sent to a number of the officers of the American Association of University Women in Indiana, due to the fact that the Association is said to

be giving support to one Frederick J. Libby, Executive Secretary for the National Council for the Prevention of War.

Pacifists are making a determined effort to destroy military training in the schools and colleges and Mr. Libby is believed to be associated with persons who are active in working to this end. This is likewise a very prominent objective of communist efforts in this country, and the propaganda is well financed and aggressive.

It is regretted that no compilation of data is available now to show the unfortunate and, with very many persons, unintentional alliance between communists and good people who have thoughtlessly lent their support to the attempted destruction of our national defense policy.

It is suggested that your State Association withhold support to the National Council for the Prevention of War, pending further investigation of this body and its associates.

(Mimeographed signature) JOHN G. MCNUTT,

JOHN G. MCNUTT,
1st Lt. FA-Res,
Sec'y-Treasurer.

Incls:

67th Congress 2nd Session, Senate Committee Print, ROTC at Educational Institutions.

Copy of statement by President Elliott, Purdue University, 1-28-26.

St No 862

It so happened that these letters were mailed out in a penalty envelope—franked envelope—which privilege under Section 485 of the U. S. Postal Laws and Regulations is restricted to "officers of the United States Government" solely for the purpose of transmitting in the mails free of postage "matters relating exclusively to the business of the Government of the United States."

Just what this letter had to do with government business it is difficult to discover. When the matter of Lieutenant McNutt's violation of the law was referred to the Secretary of War and the Attorney-General of the United States it was explained that "the envelope, with its enclosures, was sent out by authority of the chief-of-staff of the 84th Division, Colonel G. L. Townsend, an officer of the Regular Army, and competent under the law."

This was the opinion of the Secretary of War. Senator Thomas J. Walsh, of Montana, thereupon wrote to Attorney-General Sargent on December 4, 1926, saying in part as follows:

"Will you have the kindness to advise me whether you concur in the view of the Secretary of War that Colonel Townsend is 'competent under the law' to send such matter in a penalty envelope without postage? I venture without hesitation to say that he is not, and that the matter sent out by McNutt is not such as relates 'exclusively to the business of the government of the United States' nor does it relate in any wise to the business of the government of the United States. It

seems to me perfectly plain that the law has been flagrantly violated in this matter."

A great deal of the propaganda of the professional patriots has been published in journals dealing with the army and navy such as the *Army and Navy Register,* the *Army and Navy Journal,* and the *Reserve Officer,* a publication of the Reserve Officers' Association of the United States. None of these publications are in any sense official though they may seem so to the average reader. Practically every branch of the military service has an association connected with it which issues a journal. These journals can print anything they like, for they are also unofficial. Typical associations issuing publications of this character are the United States Infantry Association and the United States Cavalry Association. There are also various news letters sent out by the civilian aides of the Secretary of War, and bulletins and news letters of various corps and divisions of the army. All of these have been used to distribute indiscriminate and irresponsible propaganda chiefly against persons working for peace. Often they may be used for a wider field of propaganda as in 1925 when the *Quartermaster Review* issued a broadside of lies against the League for Industrial Democracy. This propaganda was in turn copied from the Eighty-third Division *Bulletin.* The *Army and Navy Journal* has been especially active in this work, having printed much of the

material issued by Mr. Marvin. (See page 92.)

A minor military organization which has lent itself to professional patriotic activities and to the propaganda against all shades of liberals and radicals is the National Society of Scabbard and Blade, whose headquarters are in Canton, Ohio. Its stated purpose is "to unite in closer relationship the military departments of American universities and colleges; to preserve and develop the essential qualities of good and efficient officers; to prepare ourselves as educated men to take a more active part and to have a greater influence in the military affairs of the communities in which we may reside, and above all to spread intelligent information concerning the military requirements of our country."

This society issues mimeographed bi-weekly "Special Situation Bulletins" to its members in which it details much gossip about the radicals, the pacifists, the youth movement, the League for Industrial Democracy, and all sorts of college and student activities of which it disapproves. It reprints the Whitney material on "The Reds in America" and Congressman Blanton's orations against the liberals. In one of its bulletins it attacks Sherwood Eddy, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and other persons and organizations that usually appear on the militarists' blacklist. Another Bulletin is devoted to attacking all the signers of the preface to the Lane Pamphlet. It also circulates material furnished

by the National Clay Products Industries Association (see page 161). One offering from this source is a pamphlet called "Business Statesmanship," an address by Harry Curran Wilbur, "Managers' Consultant and Nationally Known Analyst in Economics," before the sixth annual meeting of the National Clay Products Industries Association. The Scabbard and Blade Society, in sending this address, which is one long tirade against the radicals, tells its members, "You will notice it is punched ready for filing with the bulletins. Before you file it away be sure that you read it over casually and then read it making notes or underscoring phrases you wish to remember or find readily. Too much good cannot be said of this little booklet. . . . To such men as Mr. Wilbur, the American people owe a great deal as you will decide when you have finished reading 'Business Statesmanship.'"

IX

CONNECTIONS WITH BUSINESS AND ORGANIZATIONS

We have noted above, in describing the support received by the various organizations, that their chief backers are business men or their wives. Some scattered contributions come from school teachers, clerks, and storekeepers, but in the main the financial ties run from the offices of the patriotic promoters to the office of the corporation attorneys and capitalists.

The chief support of the American Defense Society doubtless comes from Mr. Elon Hooker, the manufacturer of chemicals, while Mr. Dwight Braman and fellow members of the New York Stock Exchange are the financial backers of the Allied Patriotic Societies. We have seen how the Security League received enormous defense funds from some of the wealthiest corporation directors in America. The officers of the League at the time of the congressional investigation included Mr. Menken, whose firm represented large business groups in this country and in England; Mr. Alexander J. Hemphill, director in over twenty large corporations, many of which tolerate no labor unions on the premises; Mr. Franklin Q. Brown, director in the Haitian-American Corporation;

Mr. Robert Bacon, of the United States Steel Corporation; Mr. H. B. Harris, who was listed as a director in the Haitian-American Corporation, which has carried so much civilization to the Haitian Republic; Mr. Frederick H. Coudert, a director in oil, real estate, and banking companies; and finally, Mr. Franklin Remington, director of the Great Western Chemical Corporation and many other large concerns, and present chairman of the Finance Committee of the American Defense Society. In reporting on the activities of the League the congressional report said it constituted a serious menace to representative government. Referring to such organizations, the report read:

"Usually, as in this instance, they have access to almost unlimited wealth, and borrow respectability by the use, in honorary positions, of the names of men of national prominence. . . ."

We have noted above that the major contributors to the support of the Better America Federation are the open shop, power and other public utility corporations of California whose gifts have taken the form of substantial annual subscriptions. It must be remembered that the organization once wore a franker name—the Commercial Federation of California—though its officers, office, and staff remained identical when it changed to Better America. Its president remained H. M. Haldeman, president of the Pacific Pipe and Sup

ply Company, and its directors still include millionaire real estate, department store, and public utility captains of industry. Ernest J. Hopkins in his report to the California Commission on Immigration and Housing writes:

"The connection of this organization with the Los Angeles Merchants and Manufacturers Association is universally alleged in Los Angeles. The same men are active in both."

As for the American Constitutional Association we have shown that its support is exclusively from West Virginia corporations with an occasional check from outside the state, such as Judge Gary's $5,000.

The National Civic Federation, though it carries a few labor officials on its letterhead, and swears allegiance to the A. F. of L., is clearly a big business organization, and has been so ever since Ralph Easley learned which class could write cashable checks. For the organization is supported wholly by the contributions of the more than well-to-do. No labor organization ever voted it a nickel, and many, like the United Mine Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers, have openly condemned it and forbidden their members to join it.

Glance at a Who's Who of the National Civic Federation and you will find from the day of August Belmont, the former president, down, the names of a goodly assortment of "hard-boiled"

employers. Belmont himself, it will be remembered, testified before the Industrial Relations Commission "that the majority of the companies he represented opposed the right to organize, and maintained spy systems."

The list of present executive committee members, both from the employer and the public group, includes directors of dozens of open shop concerns that have made no effort to cultivate the collective bargaining with American Federation of Labor unions which Mr. Easley professes to approve. Indeed, many of them are ruthless anti-labor concerns permitting no union organizations in their plants, and employing spies and stool pigeons to rout any attempt at unionization. Nicholas F. Brady, Elon H. Hooker, Ogden L. Mills, and T. Coleman du Pont are among those who hold large interests in and direct the policies of corporations whose treatment of organized labor has been anything but conciliatory.

A committee appointed by the Federation to investigate and turn in a whitewash report on child labor in southern cotton mills some years ago included the wife of a president of a southern life insurance company, the wives of two presidents of southern cotton mills, and the president of the South Carolina Cotton Manufacturers' Association! Labor was not represented.

Mr. Easley's public pronouncements and acts, as well as his more covert caperings, include many items which could scarcely be attributed to a love

for organized labor. His close relations to the United States Steel Corporation have been shown first, in his connections with its Welfare Department (which, incidentally, handles its labor espionage work), and his pamphlets praising the corporation's labor policy; second, in his spying on the Inter-Church investigators of the steel strike; * and third, in his failure ever to criticize the Steel Corporation for its attacks on organized labor. It should be remembered that Mr. Easley admitted sending certain espionage documents to Judge Gary, explaining later, of course, that he did it as an individual and not as the secretary of the Civic Federation.

The Federation has shown similar affection for the Standard Oil Company and its industrial relations, notoriously anti-union. In fact, its rôle as a conciliator between capital and labor can be no better summed up than in the words of Professor C. E. Bonnet in his "Employers' Associations in the United States":

"Some very interesting observations and inferences can be made from the account of the Federation's work in mediating and arbitrating strikes. . . . The very situation has offered an unusual opportunity for the gravest manipulation. It is a fair assumption that among the shrewd financiers of the country, there were some who saw the opportunity and possibly a few took advantage of it. The Federation has always had among

* See pages 6 and 71-85 in "Public Opinion and the Steel Strike of 1919."

its members a large number of the leading financiers of the world. . . . Not any of the employers' associations is so intimately connected with Wall Street."

It goes without saying that the National Civic Federation has been very close in spirit with the large employers' associations. Among those represented through connections with their directors are: The League for Industrial Rights, an active open shop body; the National Industrial Conference Board, an employers' research organization; the National Association of Manufacturers; the National Founders' Association; the Associated Industries of New York State; the Building Trades Employers' Association of New York City; the National Association of Clothing Manufacturers; the United States Brewers' Association; the South Carolina Cotton Manufacturers' Association; the Minnesota Employers' Association; the New York State Chamber of Commerce; The League for the Protection of Property Rights of which Judge Alton B. Parker was an executive officer, and the Navy League, are also interlocked with the Federation in its attacks on reds and pacifists.

The coöperation between the professional patriots and the militant employers' associations and their organs is largely a matter of scissors and paste. The open-shoppers use the articles of Mr. Marvin and his kind. For example, the New York *Commercial's* articles have been quoted in

dozens of employers' associations and associated industries' bulletins from coast to coast. The Kansas City Employers' Association, the Citizens Alliance of Minneapolis, the Associated Industries of Tacoma and the Associated Employers of Indianapolis—the latter a leader among local open shop associations—provide examples of this practice. The Employers Association of Detroit sing the praises of the Minute Men of the Constitution, and the Sentinels of the Republic ("every citizen a Sentinel! Every house a Sentry Box!") and bids its members join them. "Act with your Patriotic Neighbors" it admonishes its members. The organs of the National Metal Trades Association and the National Founders' Association mix in Defense Society quotations along with appeals to "stand by the open shop," and Joseph T. Cashman, of the Civil Legion, is a feature writer for the *Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Journal.*

The *Manufacturers' Record,* exponent of high tariff and anti-unionism, devotes pages to quotations from Easley's Youth Movement pamphlet and Whitney's "Reds in America"; and the American Plan Association of Cleveland, headed by the premier anti-union advocate, William Frew Long, calls in Mr. Marvin to consult with its board of governors concerning the alarming spread of radicalism in that city as evidenced by the LaFollette vote in 1924. The same association uses many of the Marvin "facts" to "expose" the

American Civil Liberties Union and the League for Industrial Democracy.*

The June, 1925, issue of the *Monitor,* organ of the Associated Industries of New York, praises the objects of the United States Flag Association and its assaults on the "red propaganda." The same organ also uses much of Mr. Easley's material as well as Mr. Marvin's. *Industrial Progress,* Mr. Lewis' deceased journal, once listed the membership of important "open shop and patriotic bodies" as follows: American Legion, 1,060,000; American Bankers' Association, 23,000; National Society Daughters of American Revolution, 181,000; National Security League, 250,000; and Patriotic Order Sons of America, 260,000.

This use of the words "patriotic" and "open shop" interchangeably is quite common among other professional 100 per centers.

The Key Men of America, it may also be noted, includes on its Advisory Council such aggressive open shop executives as Andrew J. Allen, secretary of the Associated Employers of Indianapolis; William H. Barr, president of the National Founders' Association; Lewis Atherton, executive secretary of the Employers' Association of Jackson, Mich.; E. H. Davidson, manager of the Citizens Alliance of St. Paul; W. H. George, president of the Builders' Exchange of San Francisco, and H. A. Jung, commissioner of the National Clay Products Industries Association.

* (American Plan Association of Cleveland, Report 1923, 1924, p. 137, Chapter on Radicalism.)

X

CONNECTIONS WITH ORGANIZED LABOR

Despite the pretention that this disinterested patriotism serves all the people, organized labor is conspicuous by its absence from all the organizations except the Civic Federation. And there it is present only very feebly. During Mr. Gompers' life his presence on the Federation committee identified the whole A. F. of L. with it in the public mind, though many unions, such as the International Association of Machinists, bitterly opposed this alliance with employers. The United Mine Workers forbade any member to belong to the Civic Federation on pain of expulsion. The clause is interesting. It reads:

"Mine managers, top foremen, operators' commissioners, persons engaged in the sale of intoxicating liquors and members of the Civic Federation shall not be eligible to membership."

And the U.M.W.A. resolution which brought about the constitutional amendment just quoted, read in part as follows:

"We, the United Mine Workers of America, in Convention assembled, condemn the National Civic Federa-

tion as an auxiliary of the capitalist class in the exploitation of the workers and as an agency to further fasten the fetters of wage bondage on the limbs of labor."

Other large unions such as the International Ladies' Garment Workers of America have more recently taken the same stand and have also called on the A. F. of L. officials to get off the Civic Federation letterhead.

The resolution of the Ladies' Garment Workers, passed at its convention in November, 1925, read:

"WHEREAS, the National Civic Federation is an organization tending to perpetuate the slavery of the working class and its spirit is therefore contrary to that of our International Union and of all progressive labor unions, and

"WHEREAS, some of the worst enemies of labor in the United States are members of said National Civic Federation and have great influence in its deliberations, and

"WHEREAS, we consider it inconsistent for labor men to belong to said organization and to give thereby prestige to our enemies, be it therefore

"RESOLVED, that we instruct our delegates to all future annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor to introduce and vote for a resolution that all officers of the American Federation of Labor who are at present connected with the National Civic Federation should sever all affiliations with that body."

Since the present president of the A. F. of L., Mr. William Green, is a member of the United

Mine Workers, he could not join the Civic Federation and keep his union membership. So Mr. Gompers' place is filled by a lesser light, Mr. Matthew Woll, who, as acting president, ardently supports Mr. Easley in his Open-Letter-to-the-President campaigns against the recognition of Soviet Russia. In return Mr. Easley helps Mr. Woll in campaigns to expel the left wing members from trade unions.

An analysis of the connection of organized labor with the Civic Federation shows these facts. On the executive committee are Mr. McMahon of the Textile Workers, Mr. Feeney of the Elevator Constructors, Mr. Maloney of the Glass Bottle Blowers, Mr. Robertson of the Firemen and Enginemen, Mr. Lee of the Trainmen, Mr. Mahon of the Street Railwaymen, Mr. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association, Mr. Sheppard of the Conductors, Mr. Keough of the Molders, Mr. Duncan of the Granite Cutters, and Mr. Woll of the Photo-Engravers. In New York Mr. Easley can count on the coöperation of Mr. Holland, formerly president of the New York State Federation of Labor and now a member of the Board of Standards and Appeals of New York City, and Mrs. Sara Conboy of the United Textile Workers, as well as Mr. Hugh Frayne, local organizer of the A. F. of L., Mr. John Sullivan, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, and certain officers of the New York City Trades and Labor Council. Mr. D. L. Cease, editor of

The Railroad Trainman, is Secretary of the Civic Federation, and Peter J. Brady, President of the Federation Bank of New York, helps Mr. Easley as Secretary of his Department on Political Education.

Other labor men who have been on the executive committee were Mr. Tobin of the Teamsters, Mr. O'Connor, once president of the Longshoremen and now of the U. S. Shipping Board, Mr. Healey of the Firemen and Oilers, Mr. Voll of the Glass Bottle Blowers, and Mr. Stone of the Locomotive Engineers. Mr. Healey, and Mr. Stone, a few months before his death, were two who resigned when they could stomach no longer Mr. Easley's attacks on progressive legislative measures and the British Labor Party.

Mr. Easley claims that his Federation committees give "equal representation" to capital and labor, yet an analysis reveals the line-up as follows: 33 men of obviously anti-labor convictions, five persons who depend for their livelihood on the 33, and 13 who may be called labor men, making the proportion about three to one against labor. And the results are even more disillusioning if we take any one of the special committees of the federation. For example, one appointed in 1922 to consider increasing the Army and Navy, shows 25 from business and professional associations, 10 from military organizations, 16 from miscellaneous bodies, and only two representing labor.

It is also interesting to note that in the active

Woman's Department under Miss Maude Wetmore no names of working women are to be found. Instead we read Guggenheim, Van Rensselaer, Wood (Wise), Morgan, Dodge and Bacon.

On the various special committees and departments labor is usually treated to a lean representation. Note as typical the Department on Current Economic and Political Movements—four labor members to fifteen non-labor members.

Radicals and militant trade unionists have time and again leveled their criticism at Easley and his relations with labor officialdom. Daniel DeLeon compared the Federation to the "Temple of Concord employed to corrupt the Plebs leaders in Roman times"; Debs spoke of "the unholy alliance of labor leaders and Easley's rich supporters," and Morris Hillquit, prominent socialist, wrote:

> "The game played by the Civic Federation is the shrewdest yet devised by the employers of any country. It takes nothing from capital, it gives nothing to labor, and does it all with such an appearance of boundless generosity, that some of the more guileless diplomats in the labor movement are actually overwhelmed by it. To the organized labor movement the policy of the Civic Federation is the most subtle and insidious poison. It robs it of its independence, virility and militant enthusiasm; it hypnotizes or corrupts its leaders, weakens its ranks and demoralizes its fights."

The expulsion of "reds" from the trade unions always brings the warm approval of the profes-

sional patriotic societies. In one of its weekly news letters the Better America Federation puts its blessing upon M. F. Tighe of the steel workers' union in its struggles with the left wing:

"The Better America Federation has repeatedly insisted that union labor must rid its own ranks of 'reds,' and we complimented Tighe on his recent Labor Day speech when he demanded that unions 'throw out the radicals.' Up to this time, however, union leaders have merely talked about doing this job—but have failed to act. Now we are getting action."

With the exception of the United States Flag Association, which holds a place on its founders' board "in memorium" for Samuel Gompers, the other organizations make no claim to identify themselves with the labor movement in any way, although they may occasionally coöperate with the more reactionary union officials in campaigns against the Communist members of trade unions.

XI

CONNECTIONS WITH EDUCATION

We have noted how the Better America Federation attempted to circulate in the public schools its "America Is Calling" attack on public ownership. Only through the efforts of a courageous superintendent of public instruction was its purpose thwarted. Mr. Haldeman and his agents continued their battle for the schools in the course of which they prevailed upon the Supply Committee of the Board of Education of Los Angeles to strike *The Nation* and the *New Republic* from the list of publications permitted to be purchased for the school libraries. These two magazines, the B. A. F. opinion goes, are "undermining the economic principles of America." At the same time the Federation lamented the fact that a school teacher in Claremont, Cal., had given the children "The Jungle" by Upton Sinclair, and it launched a campaign to bar the historical works of Professor Mussey from the public schools. It also attempted to put through a bill in the state legislature prohibiting a teacher from advocating any change whatsoever in the Constitution.

A still more significant piece of Constitution-mongering is the Federation's specially organized committee to serve canned Constitution to the

school children. The Southern California Citizens' Committee was the name used in 1923. Mr. Haldeman and E. P. Clark, a millionaire land owner and a leading spirit in the Federation, were members. A "Gigantic Oratorical Contest" was opened to all secondary school children. The rewards included "a de luxe summer tour of the Mediterranean country" and various cash prizes. Two requirements were demanded in the orations, all of which were to deal with the Constitution:

> "The judges of the orations will be instructed to apply but two tests to the orations: First, literary merit and delivery (these counting fifty points each); and second, whether or not they increase interest in and respect for the Constitution."

The credit for the initiation of these contests was given to a certain Iowa District Court Judge, Martin J. Wade, sojourning in Los Angeles for his health. He had supervised newspaper contests and essay competitions dealing with the Constitution in his own state, assisted by the American Legion and the National Security League.

As a guide to the young orators, Mr. Randolph Leigh's "The Citadel of Freedom" was specially placed in the public libraries of the section, as Mr. Leigh was in charge of the contest. By reading this book a fairly glowing picture of the Constitution could be secured, but Mr. Thomas Jefferson and his democratic principles are treated by Mr. Leigh in a quite deprecatory manner. Strangely

enough, the boy who won the contest in Southern California in 1923 adopted the highly original title, "Our Constitution—the Citadel of Freedom," and quoted generously from Mr. Leigh, including the latter's attack on the "Pessimist and the knocker." The boy asserted that

> "we hear the growl and snarl of the discontented . . . the land is alive with revolutionists teaching their Bolshevik doctrines. But fear not, friends, what we hear is only the death cry, and these are the dying acts of primitive man, provoked by his animal instincts as he surrenders to the refining influences of civilization. If you would have our ship of state sail on to a greater, grander destiny, teach respect for law and order for the courts and the magistrates, reverence for our institutions, and loyalty for all the great fundamental principles bequeathed to us by our ancestors. Do this, and all will be well with posterity!"

The success of this contest in California inspired the Federation to nationalize it, and to extend it to the colleges as well as the high schools. In 1925 and 1926 nation-wide contests were held in seven regions, one set in the high schools and one in the colleges. The finals were run off in Los Angeles, and large cash prizes were awarded to all the final contestants. In the college contest the winner in the national finals received $2,000, the second man $1,000 and the others from $300 to $500. The total prizes were $5,000 in the college contest alone. The Federation boasted that four

million students had participated in one year (1926) in the contest, and that seventy million people heard the orations.

Headquarters for the contests were opened in Washington, D. C., where they received the blessings of our leading statesmen.

It will be remembered also that the Better Americans fought the state appropriations for normal schools in order to cut down the number of teachers so that none would be available for the schools for migratory workers. The Federation is particularly bitter against these schools, as it contends that I.W.W.'s are developed in them, its theory being that the better educated the workers are the more likely they are to succumb to radical doctrines.

It is difficult to trace an influential connection between the National Civic Federation and the universities, though the federation has issued much of its literature with a view to scotching the liberal and "radical vipers" to be found on most campuses to-day. Mr. Easley's assaults on Dr. M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr, and his "Symposium of Opinions Upon the Outline of History by H. G. Wells" ("by far the most valuable propagandist yet won by Lenin and Trotsky") shows his concern for the colleges, as did his formidable pamphlet on the Youth Movement and his attack on the Reverend Iddings Bell of St. Stephens College.

John Hays Hammond, one of the federation's

leaders at the twenty-third annual meeting of the National Civic Federation, reflected the Easlian apprehension:

"I have no doubt that many of the colleges are permeated with communism and bolshevist teachings. There rests with the trustees a great responsibility to see that the youth of the nation is not exposed to insidious propaganda taught by doctrinaires and fanatic professors who claim the privilege of academic freedom."

All the other patrioteering bodies hope to penetrate the schools, colleges, and universities in their drive to drag out the reds. The bulk of their literature is aimed in this direction and is calculated to produce "correct attitudes" toward the Constitution and the history of the Republic. The Security League claims it is coöperating with the state superintendents and commissioners of education in many states and boasts that some of them are using the books distributed by the League. North Dakota's commissioner is among the converts claimed. The presentation of flags and constitutions, and the writings of James M. Beck, to school children is a part of the work of several of the organizations, while the scotching of any teachers who may be poisoned with the economic interpretation of history is an important function of others.

The National Security League boasts in the re-

port of Major General R. L. Bullard, dealing with the work of the organization, 1925, that

> "largely through the efforts of Mr. Lloyd Taylor, secretary of the League and chairman of our Committee on Constitutional Instruction, the legislatures of 37 states have passed bills requiring definite courses of instruction in the Constitution of the United States in all public schools."

The Security League "coöperated with the American Legion in the presentation of their History of the United States for schools." The Constitutional Anniversary Association of Chicago is also interested in developing constitution worship among school children.

Further activity of the professional patriotic organizations in educational affairs was evident in the refusal of the Board of Education in 1926 to allow the American Civil Liberties Union to use the New York City schools for a free-speech meeting. Representatives of six organizations appeared at Albany when the Union appealed the Board of Education's decision to the State Commissioner of Education. They boasted that they had prompted the Board of Education to take its stand and that "they would never allow the A.C.L.U. to use the schools as long as they stood for unlimited free speech." Their only representative who spoke at the meeting was Joseph T. Cashman, formerly a spokesman of the National

Security League, but on that occasion, for the Women Builders of America.

The organizations represented were: The Women Builders of America, the American Defense Society, the Federated Women's Clubs, the Lord's Day Alliance, the Military Order of the World War, the Allied Patriotic Societies, and the Government Club.

CHAPTER XII

DESCRIPTIONS OF CHIEF ORGANIZATIONS

In Chapter V we have described the work of some of the leading organizations. Further details and summaries are presented in the following brief accounts which include all the important organizations dealt with in the foregoing pages. The classified list is as follows. It is given for easy reference:

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

(1) With Headquarters in New York:
National Security League,
National Civic Federation,
American Defense Society.

(2) With Headquarters in Chicago:
American Citizenship Foundation,
National Clay Products Association.

(3) With Headquarters in Washington, D. C.:
United States Flag Association,
National Patriotic Council,

National Association for Constitutional Government,
Sentinels of the Republic,
Military Order of the World War.

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS:

Better America Federation, Los Angeles, Cal.
American Constitutional Association, Charleston, W. Va.
Military Intelligence Association of the Sixth Corps Area, Chicago, Ill.
Industrial Defense Association, Boston, Mass.
Utah Associated Industries, Salt Lake City.

PERSONAL ENTERPRISES:

Allied Patriotic Societies, headed by Dwight D. Braman, lawyer, New York City.
United States Patriotic Society, headed by Jacob Cash, lawyer, New York City.
Constitutional Anniversary Association, headed by Harry F. Atwood, lawyer, Chicago.
Civil Legion, headed by Frank Comerford, lawyer, Chicago.
Women Builders of America, headed by Mrs. William Cumming Story, New York.
Government Club, New York City, headed by Mrs. George E. Owens.

NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE *

This, the earliest of the professional patriotic societies, has been, and is still, the strongest of

* See also page 49.

them. It was started in 1914 by Mr. S. Stanwood Menken, New York corporation lawyer. It grew rapidly in the days of the preparedness campaign, and for a private propaganda organization developed an enormous membership and huge budget. Its political activities in 1918, when it endeavored to defeat candidates for Congress who did not measure up to its standards of patriotism, resulted in a congressional investigation which revealed the League's intimate connection with big business interests, particularly those which were then profiting heavily from the war.

From that time on the League's influence declined; its tactics were changed, and it became chiefly an educational propaganda organization. It is still active in that field, primarily in the schools. It furnishes teachers and pupils copies of the Constitution, conducts contests on patriotic subjects and vigilantly opposes all forms of radicalism. It has secured the passage in many states of laws making the teaching of the Constitution compulsory in public and private schools (37 states now have such laws). Its work is more nearly national in scope than any of the other professional patriotic organizations, although its chief field of activity is in the east. It operates only from its national office in New York City. "Preparedness" and "citizenship" are the two lines of interest, but efforts are more conspicuously directed to citizenship education than to preparedness. The preparedness program means

"carrying out the National Defense Act of 1920" and the "maintenance of an efficient navy and merchant marine."

The League does most of its business by mail. It employs an office staff of about ten under the direction of a general secretary, Mr. E. L. Harvey, and the civic secretary, Miss Leighton. The League has endeavored to meet the radicals on their own ground by sending out a corps of street speakers in eastern cities, and entering into public debates with radical spokesmen. The League's anti-radical activities are chiefly educational. The program includes opposition to communism, socialism, particularly student "liberal" clubs in colleges, and to free speech as defined and defended by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The League's support is more widely distributed than that of most patriotic organizations, two-thirds of it coming from dollar memberships. There are approximately 17,000 members. It reports its financial affairs to the National Information Bureau, in contrast with practically all the other organizations in the field, which refuse to make public their income and expenditures.

While Mr. S. Stanwood Menken, its organizer, has been the most active officer of the National Security League and was its president for several years, there are many others also active. General R. L. Bullard, retired, is its present president. Haley Fiske, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, is honorary president. Mr. Menken is

now chairman of the board. Practically all its officers and committee members are men identified with big business, or corporation lawyers, while a few made their reputations in politics.

NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION *

This is one of the few strongly organized associations engaged in professional patriotism. Although national in name, its operations are confined almost wholly to the Atlantic seaboard, principally New York. Its activities in the field of professional patriotism began during the war and reached their largest extent in the days of the Lusk Committee and the campaign against radicals from 1920 to 1923.

The association started in Chicago in 1900 as the inspiration of Ralph M. Easley, a former newspaper man, who had a vision of getting capital and labor together for action in matters of common concern. For many years that was the chief activity of the Federation, but it was sidetracked during the war. The Federation enlisted in its membership the most conspicuous representatives of big business, including men who were notoriously anti-union. Yet the representatives of organized labor on the national executive committee aided these gentlemen in controlling the Federation, at least nominally, and sat down with them at the Federation's dinners and public functions. This aroused such opposition in certain

* See also page 45.

unions that they forbade their members and officials to belong to the Civic Federation. This did not, however, affect Mr. Samuel Gompers, former president of the American Federation of Labor, who was for years a vice-president of the Civic Federation and one of its most active public supporters. Nor does it affect the activities of Mr. Matthew Woll, who is now Mr. Easley's "acting president."

From its beginning Ralph M. Easley, organizer of the Federation, has been its moving spirit. He is a conservative, a hard fighter, and a man of violent prejudices. He has managed to maintain the extraordinary line-up of big business and the conservative leadership of the American Federation of Labor. During and since the war the campaign of the Civic Federation against radicals of course enlisted support in both quarters. In addition Mr. Easley made common cause with the czarist opponents of the Soviet Government and was on intimate terms with William J. Burns while he was head of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice. Although the American Federation of Labor is bitterly opposed to private detective agencies and to Mr. Burns' lifetime activity against organized labor, Mr. Easley furnished a link between Mr. Gompers on the one hand and Mr. Burns on the other. Each one of the three had precisely the same interest in attacking communism and Soviet Russia. This practical alliance between big business, organized labor, and

the government secret service for any purpose is unparalleled in the history of the labor movement here or in any other country.

The Civic Federation is dominated primarily by wealthy and elderly business men, who furnish most of its funds. The Federation refuses to divulge the sources of its support even to members of its own executive committee. It is probable that it has about five thousand members. Practically all of its work is done in the New York office through pamphlets, confidential statements, press releases, and conferences.

AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY *

This organization was started in 1915 to aid the preparedness movement and to help get the United States into the war. It has had an irregular career. At times it has conducted spirited campaigns but for long periods has remained comparatively inactive. It is a small organization, whose activities are largely determined by the few men who happen to be in charge, notably its president, Elon H. Hooker, president of the Hooker Electro-Chemical Company, manufacturers among other things of chemical gases used in warfare. All its work is concentrated in its New York office and consists mainly of pamphlet publications and press releases. From 1922 to 1924 it had an active Washington office under the direction of the late R. M. Whitney, who coöperated closely with Wil-

* See also page 51.

liam J. Burns of the Department of Justice in attacks on radical and liberal movements.

The activities of the society are of the standard professional patriotic type, viz., support of the Constitution as they understand it, and hostility to radicalism of all sorts. The society also backed the movement for the present restrictions in the Immigration Law.

It is supported by a small number of members, probably about two thousand. Mr. Hooker, the president, apparently determines the society's policies and activities, and is presumably its chief contributor together with Mrs. Owens of the Government Club.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP FOUNDATION

This is a consolidation of the "Amercian Sentinels" and "United Americans," two short-lived organizations which flourished in Chicago in the interests of patriotism in 1922-23. The consolidation took place in 1923. Its chief activity consists in giving study courses in Americanization to workers in industrial plants. George Edmund Foss, a former member of Congress, now president of the B. F. Sturtevant Company, is President. The First Vice-President and Director is Joseph B. Strauss of the Strauss Bascule Bridge Company, who was also the originator of the "American Sentinels." Charles W. Folds, Second Vice-President, is president of Folds, Buck and Company, and chairman of the Board of the

Eddy Paper Corporation. John J. Mitchell, Jr., Treasurer, is also Treasurer of the National Air Transport, Inc., and Assistant Cashier of the Illinois Merchants Trust Company.

The Foundation seeks to organize study groups by showing industrial managers that "loyal and contented workers mean cheaper costs, that cheaper costs mean larger output, that larger output means greater markets, and that greater markets mean bigger profits." The Foundation has prepared its own text-book for use in these study courses. The material is the usual line of Americanization stuff with hostility of course to all forms of radicalism. It publishes a monthly magazine called *The American Citizen* of which Thomas James Norton, a lawyer, is Editor. An article by the Editor contains these words: "It is a historic fact which no well-read person will question that the happiest peoples the world has known were made so by advanced agriculture, commerce, and industry, that is to say, by the successful business man."

The Foundation is backed by a small group of employers and business men. Dues range from $5 a year up—mostly up. The budget is reported to be about $20,000 a year. Its influence and activity are unimportant outside of Illinois. Some of the members of the Board of Directors are the following: Benjamin F. Affleck, President of the Universal Portland Cement Co.; William R. Dawes, Vice-President of the Central Trust Co.

of Illinois and President of the Chicago Association of Commerce; Bernard J. Fallon, Vice-President of the Chicago Rapid Transit Co., and William A. Moffett, Rear Admiral, U.S.N.

The Foundation is so far active only in Illinois, although it is ambitious to be a national organization actually as well as nominally.

Late in 1926 the Foundation was endeavoring to raise $2,000,000 in the Chicago area for its purposes. At the same time it was revealed that it kept a close tab on all sorts of labor, liberal and pacifist leaders, and possessed a sort of blacklist of such names. It was reported that when Jane Addams was proposed as a speaker before a woman's club in a town near Chicago, one of the members objected on the ground that "Jane Addams is on the American Citizen Foundation's list as the third most dangerous person in America." Miss Addams did not speak.

Among the organizations on the Foundation's blacklist are the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women and the National Student Forum.

NATIONAL CLAY PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

This association, with headquarters in Chicago, is the national employers' open shop association in the brick and clay industry. It is mentioned here among the professional patriotic organizations chiefly because its anti-red work is typical

of that carried on by employers' associations and trade associations in other industries.

Its activities in the field of "trailing the reds" have centered around its lively "commissioner," Mr. H. A. Jung. This gentleman issued a statement in 1926 to the effect that Lenin was once in America and that while here he associated with such "anarchists, murderers, disloyalists and dynamiters as Emma Goldman, Robert Minor and Eugene V. Debs, etc."

Mr. Jung's authority to speak on political issues may also be deduced from his declaration that the *New Republic* and the *Survey* are "red" publications and that the American Civil Liberties Union should really be known as the "Un-American Criminal License Union," and "that it is this outfit that has been defending communism and all other 'isms' in this country."

The association, according to Commissioner Jung, is a sort of clearing house of patriotic information on radical movements. Besides receiving all the literature of the various professional patriotic societies, the association also has its own source of information "for which," says Mr. Jung, "we pay good money."

What Mr. Jung refers to becomes clearer when we inquire further and discover the association conducting a very thorough labor espionage service for its members. A specimen report on the letterhead of the association, dated September 25, 1926, reads as follows:

"General Manager,
North River Brick Co.,
R. F. D. 4,
Saugerties, N. Y.
DEAR SIR:

Find herewith excerpt from confidential report received from one of our staff representatives in connection with the Connecticut strike situation:

'Lowrie did not speak to-night of using any violence, but begged the men to stick for the sake of their wives and children, saying further that next spring when this battle opened up again, the Hudson River district would be organized so that no influx of negro labor could occur, as is now the case, and with this road blocked, the CBMA would have to come to time.'

It is essential that this fall, winter and next spring, the Hudson River operators get together and formulate a definite labor policy and it would be advisable to have the writer address you on the subject matter of 'What is the U. B. & C. W. of A?'* 'What Do They Do?'—'What Have They Done?' and 'What Should We Do To Offset Their Activities?'

Very truly yours,
(Signed) H. A. JUNG,
Commissioner."

HAJ:MM

The "staff representative," as is customary with labor spies, intimates that the labor union organizer spoke of "violence" on other nights if not on the night in question in his report. Mr. Jung's letter also brings out another important

* The United Brick & Clay Workers of America, the labor union of the industry.

function of his office—to act as traveling lecturer on the evils of labor unions. As advance information expert to the members of the association he helps them lay out their strategy for defeating unionism in all its forms.

Mr. Jung, it should be further noted, coöperates closely with other open shop and anti-union advocates such as Mr. Fred Marvin of the *National Republic,* Mr. Noel Sargent of the National Association of Manufacturers, and Mr. Francis Ralston Welsh, whom Mr. Jung describes as "a patriot of Philadelphia."

UNITED STATES FLAG ASSOCIATION

The United States Flag Association was organized in Washington in 1924 by Colonel James A. Moss, retired, who is now and has been its director general and chief inspiration. Its sole purpose is "to foster reverence for the flag of the United States and to combat all influences, conditions and forces hostile to the ideals, traditions, principles and institutions for which that flag stands." It has not entered the field of attack against radicalism as such, and apparently it is opposed to the Ku Klux Klan's conception of patriotism, for it declares against any "public movement inspired by intolerance"—asserting its non-partisanship "politically, religiously and racially."

The association apparently has had a hard time financially, despite the fact that Elihu Root is

president and Otto Kahn, treasurer, that it is endorsed by Calvin Coolidge, its Honorary President, and numbers among its founders distinguished leaders in business, politics, the church, labor, and women's organizations. An elaborate scheme of financial support is laid out by grouping members in "Living Flags" each consisting of sixty-three members. Since it costs $25 to create a Living Flag, any one contributing that amount becomes a "Flag Founder, receiving without cost a beautiful testimonial produced in several colors." The Flag Founder's name appears on the certificate of every other person in the Living Flag and thus "finds its way into sixty-three American homes where, as an attractively framed document adorning the walls, it will be preserved long after he or she is dead and gone."

But this is not all. Any one who founds twenty-five Living Flags in five years (for $625) may get a "Patriotic Service Medal" carrying with it the title "Son of the Flag," if a man, and "Daughter of the Flag," if a woman—presented, by the way, by the "Mayor of the City or by some other suitable person." But even more: Any one who founds one hundred Living Flags within five years (for $2,500) may get an "American Cross of Honor carrying with it the title of 'Knight of the Flag,' if a man, and 'Lady of the Flag,' if a woman." In this case the presentation, which will take place on Washington's Birthday, will be made "in Washington by the President of the

United States, or by some other distinguished person."

Apparently the only practical program which the association has developed is "impressive flag ceremonies" and the distribution of pamphlets and instructions for saluting the flag properly. The modest support apparently comes chiefly from men in political life in Washington whom Colonel Moss himself has been able to enlist. Apparently the scheme for financial support through Living Flags has not produced results.

NATIONAL PATRIOTIC COUNCIL

This Council has an individual membership of about 200. Its so-called constituent organizations are affiliated to it only through individual members. Its headquarters are in Washington and its national president is Mrs. Noble Newport Potts, also a member of the Washington Chapter of the Daughters of 1812.

It was organized in 1924 and has since been supported largely through contributing members who pay from $5 to $10 a year, and sustaining members who pay more.

In addition to Mrs. Potts, some of its active members are Major General Eli A. Helmick, Rear Admiral William A. Moffett, and Major General Amos A. Fries, of the Chemical Warfare Service. General Fries was quoted early in 1927 as follows:

"We, the National Patriotic Council, strongly advocate an adequate national defense, and are vigorous in opposition to the insidious encroachments of communism and pacifism."

He also spoke for the organization when about the same time it endorsed the State Department's threatening attitude toward Mexico, denounced the straw vote on war taken by the Scripps-Howard papers, and declared: "Legislation by Mexico, confiscatory of the property of American citizens, under this policy of course will not be tolerated. As a matter of fact, the mere presence of an American gunboat off the coast of a little country of Central or South America, or the landing of a few snappy marines, has on various occasions prevented civil strife."

Major General Fries in the same capacity as well as in the capacity of Commander of the District of Columbia Post of the American Legion, tried to get a Washington High School teacher dismissed for writing a definition of socialism for the *Forum* magazine. He was unsuccessful in frightening the local Board of Education and was subsequently denounced for his fanaticism by the Press Club Post of the American Legion.

The Council's connections with the Navy and War Departments are declared by Mrs. Potts to be "semi-official" and its chief objects, according to the same authority, are to "combat radicalism and uphold the Constitution."

This organization has no office or paid staff. It meets regularly at the Willard Hotel. Mrs. Potts being the individual most concerned in its activities, it functions from her residence in Washington. Any American citizen who promises to uphold the Constitution may become a member if sponsored by two members of the organization.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

This is a quiet and scholarly organization of professors and other gentlemen who get out a quarterly magazine, entitled *The Constitutional Review,* and also a pocket edition of the Constitution. They have been going since 1914 with headquarters in Washington, supported by a membership of about eight to nine hundred, on a budget which has varied in different years from $7,000 to $19,000. They report their income and expenditures to the National Information Bureau.

The president of the organization is the Honorable David Jayne Hill, former ambassador to Germany. He and Mr. Charles Ray Dean, secretary, and Dr. Henry Campbell Black, editor of the magazine, are active officers. The society, however, does not engage actively in propaganda, though it has printed a few little anti-radical leaflets with such alarming titles as "Do You Know That the Republic Is in Danger?"

Its work is obviously confined to its small membership and the readers of its quarterly.

Miss Hermine A. Schwed, field secretary of the association, spoke recently at the annual convention of the Massachusetts branch of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Her subject was "Enemies of the Constitution." What she said about Miss Jane Addams, the National Bulletin of the Military Order of the World War (March, 1925) tells us, "brought a gasp from the hundreds of women present, some of whom had apparently been accustomed to place Jane Addams on a high pedestal."

SENTINELS OF THE REPUBLIC

This organization, which in 1926 claimed 8,000 members, was started in 1922 by the late Louis A. Coolidge of Boston, treasurer of the United Shoe Machinery Company. Though a relatively small organization, confining its activities chiefly to Massachusetts and Washington, D. C., its propaganda is national in scope. Its chief object in theory is to oppose increasing centralization of power in the Federal Government; in practice, its chief object has been to oppose the Child Labor Amendment and the industrial welfare laws advocated by women's organizations. Its official program declares, for instance, against the Equal Rights Amendment of the Women's Party, the Federal Aid Maternity Act and the proposed Federal Department of Education. It explains that "checking the growth of Federal paternalism" is the surest means of "safeguarding our institutions from

the assaults of communism." Local self-government is the central object of the "Sentinels," though it is clear from their record that this is merely a means to defeat in state legislators such progressive industrial legislation as the Child Labor Amendment.

This attitude on the part of the "Sentinels" squares with its backing by manufacturing interests. The National Child Labor Committee shows up these interests as the chief backers of the "Citizens' Committee for the Protection of our Homes and Children," which was instrumental in defeating the Child Labor Amendment in the referendum to Massachusetts voters by charging that the amendment originated in Soviet Russia and was designed to "nationalize the children."

The organization maintains a national office in Washington and a branch office in Milton, Massachusetts, under the direction of Mrs. John Balch. One secretary is employed in each office. No public report is made of income or expenditures. It is apparently financed by the business interests which back it. It coöperates closely with the *Woman Patriot,* published in Washington and devoted to the same program of opposition to the child labor amendment, the Federal maternity act, and equal rights for women. The organization engages little in public propaganda and has little practical effect outside its work through related agencies in Massachusetts.

The motto of this organization is: "Every citi-

zen a Sentinel! Every home a sentry box." One of its expressed purposes is "to stop the spread of Communism." In a booklet—"To Arms! To Arms!"—issued in 1926 in connection with its efforts to raise an endowment fund of $400,000, the organization reports that it has "card indexed more than 2,000 radical propagandists, making it comparatively easy to check their movements and counteract their activities."

MILITARY ORDER OF THE WORLD WAR

This national "association of those who served as officers of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps during the World War and who have also pledged themselves to organized civilian as well as military usefulness," issues a National Bulletin with cartoons labeling the "parlor bolsheviks, agitators, internationalists, communists, Bolsheviks and anarchists" as flies, with instructions to its members to "swat them." One member, after quoting a speech by Professor Charles A. Beard, of Columbia, in which he had criticized the restrictions placed on Count Karolyi while in the United States, inquires passionately: "Isn't it enough to make the blood of any patriotic citizen boil with righteous indignation?"

In 1924 the commander of the Buffalo chapter of the Order made false and libelous charges of radicalism against the National Council for the Prevention of War; and on another occasion Cap-

tain G. A. Darte, an "Adjutant General" of the order, made the stereotyped charges against Miss Addams and Mrs. Catt and referred to Mr. Libby as an "advocate of Russian Communism." He also charged the National Board of the Y.W.C.A., the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the American Association of University Women with having members of the "radical, pink or intelligentsia group." On another occasion early in 1927 Captain Darte, who is also a member of the National Flag Association, declared that Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia ought to be "kicked out of the university bodily" for having referred ironically to patriotic symbols and organizations.

Late in 1926 the state regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Florida circularized her constituency declaring that Lucia Ames Mead, well-known peace worker, was "a menace to the South." The "document" on which the State Regent based this belief was furnished her by the Military Order of the World War. The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the American Legion also joined in the effort to inflame that section of the country against Mrs. Mead, who was on a lecture tour there.

At a dinner laid by this Order and the Society of Military Intelligence in January, 1927, Rear Admiral Charles P. Plunkett attacked the pacifists in the usual vein and Col. Roger D. Black, also a member of the Order, attacked Congress for reluc-

tance in increasing the appropriation for the Army and Navy.

BETTER AMERICA FEDERATION *

This organization, operating in southern California from headquarters in Los Angeles, is the old Commercial Federation of California under a new name and form adopted in 1920. It is purely local, although it achieved the distinction of a national organization in its recent oratorical contests on the Constitution. It is supported chiefly by public utility companies and certain large commercial interests of southern California. The president of the Federation and its moving spirit is Harry M. Haldeman, president and general manager of the Pacific Pipe and Supply Company. Through its board of directors it is tied up with corporations who utilize the patriotic appeal to distract attention from their own purposes.

Their activities from 1920 to 1924 were locally conspicuous, but they have since conducted their local work more quietly. They rarely now appear in the newspapers, or conduct activities which carry press publicity, save the national oratorical contests on the Constitution. Apparently their most consistent patriotic activity is the distribution to their members of a weekly confidential bulletin exposing in detail one phase or another of radical activity. This is presumed to be inside information, which could be made available to

* See also page 63.

business men only through such a watchful agency. A printed weekly sheet is gotten out with less confidential information.

The organization is frankly for the open shop and against all progressive measures in the field of industrial legislation, such as the child labor amendment, and all forms of radicalism. It was particularly active for three years in prosecuting members of the I.W.W. under the California criminal syndicalism law, using for that purpose three paid witnesses who went about the state testifying in these trials that they had been members of the I.W.W. and as such had committed acts of violence against property. The Federation abandoned these prosecutions in 1924, evidently feeling that no further good would be accomplished by continuing them. They boast that their chief achievement has been the enforcement of the criminal syndicalism law and the defeat of efforts to repeal it.

The Federation is allied through interlocking directorates with the controlling business agencies of southern California. The same crowd use various names through which to accomplish their purposes. Their chief instrument of publicity is the Los Angeles *Times*.

AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL ASSOCIATION

This association, with headquarters in Charleston, West Virginia, is a local employers' patriotic association, devoted, since 1920, chiefly to defend-

ing the public interests of the non-union coal operators of the state. Its publications are reprinted by the corporations of West Virginia and its support comes solely from the manufacturing and mining interests. Judge Gary of the United States Steel Corporation has been the largest contributor on record, having given $5,000.

In 1923 during the attempts of Father John A. Ryan and other advocates of civil liberty, to establish free speech in Logan and other "closed" counties of West Virginia, the association resorted to libelous attacks on Father Ryan and his associates. The officers of the association offered at one time to make a public retraction of their lying statements about Father Ryan, but have never done so.

The association has also issued "confidential bulletins" to its following attacking the American Civil Liberties Union and its officers.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE ASSOCIATION OF THE SIXTH ARMY AREA, CHICAGO

This is a small organization of reserve officers in the United States Army, incorporated 1923, with the professed object of training men for the intelligence service of the army, but with the practical object of combating radicalism in and around Chicago. The association, of course, has no official standing despite the fact that they have taken a name which might easily confuse them with the Military Intelligence Division of the War Depart-

ment. They are headed by a Major Sydney L. Smith, employed as an engineer by the Portland Cement Association. The services of the officers are entirely voluntary, and the work is supported by nominal dues. No paid staff or office is maintained and it evidently costs very little to run the association.

The officers keep track of radicals in Chicago and have been instrumental in preventing scheduled meetings being addressed by pacifists and radicals. They have made public attacks on Madam Rosika Schwimmer, former Hungarian ambassadress to Switzerland, lately a resident of Chicago but now of New York; on Miss Jane Addams, and on other women in the peace movement. The association has no literature or printed program. Its members are identified with big business interests opposed to organized labor and of course to liberalism and pacifism in all its forms.

INDUSTRIAL DEFENSE ASSOCIATION

This is a small and comparatively ineffective organization, with headquarters in Boston, formed in 1926 to "inculcate the principles of Americanism in industrial, religious, fraternal and educational circles." It is incorporated. Apparently the occasion for its organization was the fight in Massachusetts against the child labor amendment, which was submitted to popular vote. A number of persons most active in the Massachusetts Public Interests League, which was chiefly fighting the

proposal, are active in the I.D.A. Since that referendum the association has apparently capitalized the fears of Roman Catholics among others, and although the organization displays a number of Protestant ministers on its letter-head, it apparently has had some success in securing Catholic support. The secretary, Edward H. Hunter, is a man who appears genuinely alarmed at the red menace, about which he knows apparently little, judging from the circulars issued.

The organization occupies a small and shabby office at 7 Water Street, employs only an executive secretary, and has confined its public activities to an outburst against the Fellowship of Youth for Peace Conference at Concord in June, 1926, and to printing four-page circulars, entitled "What's What." The first two numbers, published in September and October, 1926, reveal that they do not know what is what. They were sent broadcast to members of organizations in and around Boston, creating much resentment because of the libelous character of the material and the sweeping condemnation of all progressive organizations as "subversive."

The first circular is headed "American Government and Institutions Are in Danger from Radical Propaganda. Russia Directs Scores of Organizations and Hundreds of Publications Engaged in Poisoning Our Political, Social and Religious Life. The Corruption of Youth, the Disruption of Labor and the Undermining of Public Morals, are

all a part of the Sinister Program. What's What Lays Bare the Monstrous Plot to Undermine Our National Life."

In an article which endeavors to give "a few facts" about the "organized efforts being made at the present time to destroy our government" by "forces well organized, soundly financed, far-reaching in their scope," the association says:

"Ten million people out of our population of 110,000,000 are tainted with radicalism of varying degrees, from the pale pink of pacifism to the deep red of bolshevism. Two million unquestionably would like to see our government destroyed and a new government molded on Soviet lines erected on the ruins."

Then the article goes on to attack the American Civil Liberties Union as the "most influential and dangerous among the organizations devoted to destruction"; and particularly Roger N. Baldwin, one of its directors, on the basis of his prison sentence during the war and the Lusk Committee Report. The assertion is made that the "American Civil Liberties Union is the legal agency of the Communist Party of Russia."

The second circular exposes the "Subversive, Radical and Doubtful Societies Spread Over America Like a Gigantic Spider Web" through a number of interlocking directorates. This bulletin, too, is directed chiefly against the Civil Liberties Union. Dr. John Haynes Holmes and Miss Jane Addams are singled out for especial atten-

tion. It is of course made to appear that because they are members of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union along with Wm. Z. Foster of the Workers Party, they must therefore sponsor all of Mr. Foster's views and radical connections.

An exhibit of organizations regarded as "subversive or doubtful" distributed with the circular, shows amazing ignorance. Over a score of the organizations whose names are printed have been dead for years. More than a score never existed. Among the "socialistic and communistic societies in schools and colleges" are listed, for instance, the Berkeley Divinity School, the Meadville Theological School and the Bryn Mawr Summer School. Among other organizations scored in this list are the Interparliamentary Union, which happens to be an official international organization of the legislatures of many countries coming together periodically for conference; the League for the Abolition of Capital Punishment; the Society of Friends (Quakers); the Workers Education Bureau, which is the official workers' education department of the American Federation of Labor; the American Association of University Women; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Foreign Policy Association.

The most amazing aspect of this false and silly propaganda is its respectable backing. The Honorary President of the organization is General

William H. Bisbee, a retired Brigadier General of the U. S. Army, now 86 years of age. Among the officers, directors of members of the Advisory Board are a number of persons socially prominent in Boston, together with General Clarence R. Edwards.

Two of the group are college professors, two Protestant ministers, four lawyers, a doctor, two society women and two business men.

Correspondence with members of the Advisory Board has brought the reply from some that they merely allowed their names to be used in what they regarded as a legitimate cause and that they have never been called upon for any advice nor attended any meetings, and therefore disclaim responsibility.

UTAH ASSOCIATED INDUSTRIES

This is a relatively unimportant group showing a general resemblance to the Industrial Defense Association. It has an office in the Kearns Building, Salt Lake City, and issues an anonymous monthly bulletin, *The Industrial Digest,* filled with high sentiments about the "American plan" in industry. An article entitled "Intellectual Pestilence" in the December issue, 1926, sets forth the germ character of the disease of radicalism and shows how the pest is carried by speakers and lodged in the minds of the unsuspecting. "The Utah Associated Industries," the article concludes, "is in a position to give detailed informa-

tion about men and women of this type, their affiliations, their teachings and their objectives. They are all properly card-indexed, labeled and appraised. No organization in Utah therefore need plead ignorance nor remain in doubt as to the worthiness or unworthiness of any one who may seek opportunity to address audiences in this State on questions of social, economic or governmental importance."

ALLIED PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES

A pretentious effort to federate "over fifty patriotic organizations with a membership of seven millions" was undertaken in the formation of the Allied Patriotic Societies in 1923. It was the creation of one Dwight D. Braman, an elderly retired New York lawyer who was until recently a member of the New York Stock Exchange and the president for twenty-one years of a little society known as the Law and Order Union of New York.

The new federation was quickly deflated, however, when half of the "organizations represented" protested against the use of their names without their authority. The list of "over 50" was cut to 26. Among the societies whose names had been used without authority of any sort were: Bryn Mawr College, Columbia University, the Department of Justice, the War and Navy Departments, New York City Board of Education,

New York City Board of Health, and the University of the State of New York. Those left after the withdrawals ranged from the American Legion and the Bowery Mission to the Bronx County Republican Committee, the Mayflower Descendants, and the Military Order of Foreign Wars.

Apparently all that Mr. Braman required to use an organization's or government department's name was the presence at a meeting of some one who was connected with it. A soldier and a sailor on a committee was the only authority for listing the War and Navy Departments among the "societies represented." When Bryn Mawr College inquired about the use of its name it discovered that it came solely from the membership on a sub-committee of a part-time instructor.

Meetings are held once a month or less often to pass resolutions and hear reports. Occasional circular letters are sent out on the need of "teaching loyalty and combating reds." The meetings are attended by a handful of friends of the President, Mr. Braman, who is its only active officer. Except for his occasional activity, it is moribund. Its only office is Mr. Braman's two private rooms at 55 Broadway. He supports it out of his own pocket. No public appeals are made for funds. The "organizations represented" are asked to contribute $10 each, and a few presumably pay. The budget was $2,000 in 1924.

The only distinguishing feature of the patriotic

work undertaken by the Allied Patriotic Societies was an effort to get New York City school children to teach their parents English. Mr. Braman's most widely advertised public appearance in behalf of patriotism was at the hearing before Governor Smith on the repeal of the Lusk laws controlling the loyalty of schools and teachers. Said he, as reported by the New York *Times:*

"The Reds are holding 10,000 meetings in this country every week, and 350 radical papers have been established here in the last six months. Owing to complications known to the authorities, there will be a special session of Congress within three months, and within four months Your Excellency will be compelled for the same reason to call on the Legislature to convene in extraordinary session."

Mr. Braman told the Governor that the form of government of this country was in real danger from the machinations of the Reds, and that he was indulging in no empty threat. He said that the Soviet agents here were working as never before to accomplish their definite purposes, using schools and colleges and even churches to attain their ends.

"What is going to happen within the next three months to bring Congress and the Legislature into extraordinary session?" Mr. Braman was asked after the hearing.

"I would rather not say at this time," he replied. "But ask the United States Department of Justice. Chief Burns of the Secret Service would have been here to-day to join me in my plea, except that he is exceedingly busy just now. I have only an inkling of the real

situation. They have been seizing rifles and machine guns every few days."

A circular typical of Mr. Braman's activity, sent to all governors in 1923, asks them to set aside the fourth Sunday in January as Law and Order Sunday "to combat the influence of the Reds and Revolutionists," and to request all ministers to "refer to our wonderful form of government, both State and National."

The last annual meeting of the Societies laid plans to have every foreign language newspaper in the country print in each issue some patriotic boiler plate to be furnished by the Commissioner of Education of the United States Department of the Interior. At the same meeting a committee of three was appointed to investigate such societies as the American Civil Liberties Union, one of the patriots declaring at the time that "many intelligent men have fallen unwittingly into the trap of the American Civil Liberties Union." The committee was ordered to "report so that such societies may be exposed to the authorities." At a later meeting (June 2, 1926) the organization went on record "endorsing the refusal of the Board of Education to prevent speakers of the American Civil Liberties Union from using Stuyvesant High School as a meeting place."

When other calls to patriotic duty run short, it will be noted that most of the professional patriotic orders put in their spare time "exposing" the Civil Liberties Union.

UNITED STATES PATRIOTIC SOCIETY

This organization is the personal property of Mr. Jacob S. Cash, a Russian Jewish immigrant, whose devotion to his adopted country and his political activity as a marshal of the city of New York prompted him to combat unpatriotic influences among immigrants.

His society was organized in 1925 and made its debut to the public with a book recounting Mr. Cash's own personal experience in becoming Americanized, entitled "What America Means to Me." A leaflet also has been published entitled "Whither America?" answering its own question by asserting that unless we wake up and educate immigrants we are heading for Bolshevism. Mr. Cash also started a monthly magazine called *The Patriot,* which is intended to show up the communists, radicals, and liberals in order to prevent immigrants being influenced by them.

Mr. Cash is very genuine in his enthusiasm for American institutions. He advocates printing the Constitution in all languages and distributing it through our consuls abroad so that if people don't like it they can stay away from our shores. He thinks that radicalism develops out of the fact that foreigners, coming to the United States, are disappointed because opportunities do not open up right away. They thus become dissatisfied and an easy prey to radical doctrines. He feels that there is much apathy on the part of Americans in

teaching immigrants the great advantages of our form of government and that his society is necessary to wake them up.

There were in 1926 fifty-eight contributors to Mr. Cash's society, paying dues of $2 and up. As its office is Mr. Cash's personal office, its chief expenses are paid by him. According to his statement in December, 1926, his patriotic activities cost him $25,000 a year. It was at this time that Mr. Cash placed advertisements in the New York papers reading as follows:

United States Patriotic Society, 299 Broadway, will furnish speakers to clubs, conventions or private gatherings, for speeches on the United States Constitution or to debate in favor of American ideals against any other system; no charge whatever; early acceptances appreciated.

CONSTITUTIONAL ANNIVERSARY ASSOCIATION

This is apparently a one-man organization with some 300 members started in 1923 by Harry F. Atwood, a Chicago lawyer. Its only headquarters is his office and its activities are apparently confined to Mr. Atwood's frequent lectures on the Constitution.

The object of Mr. Atwood's incorporating himself is to spread information on the Constitution among school children. He is himself a reactionary opposed to all progressive movements. The organization has little influence and that is confined to Mr. Atwood's personal activity.

CIVIL LEGION

Organized early in 1926 by Frank Comerford of Chicago, it is still in embryonic state, although it bulks large on a letterhead which displays all the war governors on its advisory board and a list of army officers and politicians on its national executive committee. Its object is to get together in one organization analogous to the American Legion all the men who served during the World War in civil positions such as draft boards, war loan committees, state councils of defense, and members of the American Protective League (a citizens' detective agency active during the war). Among the officers appears the name of Joseph T. Cashman of New York, one of the most active spokesmen of the National Security League, who devotes a great deal of his time attacking the League for Industrial Democracy, the Student Forum and other college liberal organizations.*

Mr. Comerford is a Chicago lawyer who served as special prosecutor during the war in the handling of the William Bross Lloyd case. He was later an unsuccessful candidate for a judgeship.

* The Pennsylvania *Manufacturers Journal* (Sept. 1926) in announcing a series of articles by Mr. Cashman states that he has "just been elected National President of the Civil Legion" and that "this organization has for its purposes the upholding of the Constitution, National Preparedness, and the maintaining of an organized and experienced unofficial civil organization to support the government to carry out National Defense Act. . . . It already has a membership of five thousand scattered throughout the United States and the insular possessions."

The Civil Legion has introduced in Congress a bill providing for incorporation similar to that of the American Legion. The dues are $5 and $50. Its only program, other than preserving fraternal feeling among those who served in civil positions during the war, is to support national preparedness. Its last annual convention met in Philadelphia November 15, 1926.

WOMEN BUILDERS OF AMERICA

This is described as "an organization pledged to fight radicalism and to uphold the Constitution of the United States." Mrs. William Cumming Story of New York City is its national president and its headquarters are in that city. Major General Helmick has made some of his alarmist assaults on "advanced revolutionary thought" magazines while speaking before meetings of this body; and the organization distinguished itself on May 15, 1926, by communicating with the Post Office Department demanding the denial of the use of the mails to the *New Masses,* a radical monthly. Many of the patriotic speeches at the annual luncheon of these lady builders have been printed in the New York *Commercial,* which described the society as "an effective and growing body of American women."

THE GOVERNMENT CLUB, NEW YORK CITY

This organization was founded in 1905. It struggled along with a small membership until

1919 when it was rejuvenated by a group of women who volunteered their services during the war and then turned their energies to upholding their conception of patriotism and combating radicalism. The most active spirit is the president of the club, Mrs. George E. Owens. Monthly luncheon meetings are held at the Hotel Astor, attended by an average of 400 to 500 members, to listen, for instance, to such military officers as General Pershing, to Count de Reval, head of the Fascist Alliance of North America, and to the heads of other patriotic societies. The programs are broadcast by WEAF. The club joined with the American Defense Society and the Military Order of the World War in criticizing the New York Citizens Union for helping the American Civil Liberties Union in its efforts to secure a public school building in New York for a meeting on "Old-fashioned Free Speech."

The club has now about 700 members who pay nominal membership dues of $3 a year.

Appendix

THE ATTACKERS AND THE ATTACKED

One of the marked features of professional patriotic propaganda is that it deals primarily with persons, not with issues. The merits or demerits of socialism, the constitution and free speech are rarely discussed critically and objectively. They are presented with emotion in the spirit of blind loyalties. Persons in opposing camps are attacked in order to discredit them. Those who are attacked are most commonly not the "revolutionists," the known radicals—who need no further discrediting—but rather the progressives and "liberals" who have some influence and public standing.

The following list of those whose names appear fairly regularly on one side or the other—either attackers or attacked—illustrates this situation clearly. It reveals at once the narrow range of those who do the attacking—army officers, paid executives of organizations, a few enthusiastic women volunteers and a number of wealthy business men, chiefly retired. The wide range of those attacked is significant. The names cover every progressive element in the country—indeed some who are progressive in only one respect and

thoroughly conservative in others. The blind fear of radical change is best exhibited in the large number of college presidents and professors attacked on the theory that any discussion of radical views in the colleges will bring on revolution. To those who know how little radicalism exists in American schools and colleges, this is amusing.

ATTACKERS

FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS AND BUSINESS MEN

Nicholas F. Brady—President, New York Edison Co.

Frank Comerford—Chicago lawyer, leader in Civil Legion.

William B. Dawes—Business man, Chicago.

T. Coleman Du Pont—Powder capitalist, Wilmington, Del.

Elbert H. Gary—Chairman, United States Steel Corp., New York City.

John Hays Hammond—Engineer.

Elon H. Hooker—Head of the Hooker Electro Chemical Co., New York City.

A S. Lavenson—Business man of California.

John J. Mitchell—Business man, Chicago.

Charles Piez—President, Illinois Manufacturers Association.

Franklin Remington—Director, Great Western Chemical Corp.

Mrs. Finley J. Shepard (formerly Helen Gould), New York City.

William K. Vanderbilt—Capitalist, New York City.

Francis Ralston Welsh—Stock broker, Philadelphia, Pa.

Thomas E. Wilson—President, Wilson Company, packers, Chicago.

EDITORS

J. S. Eichelberger—Editor, *Woman Patriot,* Washington, D. C.

Henry Harrison Lewis—News and Editorial Service to business men, Washington, D. C.

George B. Lockwood—former secretary, Republican National Committee, Washington, D. C.

Fred R. Marvin—Associate Editor of the *National Republic* and Director of Key Men of America, New York City.

MEN IN PUBLIC OFFICE

James M. Beck—Lawyer, New York City, former Solicitor General.

Thomas L. Blanton—Congressman, Texas.

Aaron I. Dotey—Teacher, New York public schools, connected with National Civic Federation.

Albert F. Johnson—Congressman, Washington, chairman House Immigration Committee.

Martin W. Littleton—Lawyer, New York City.

William J. Burns
Harry M. Daugherty
Edward Denby
Albert Fall
A. Mitchell Palmer

All reminiscent of the early days of anti-radical hysteria.

OFFICERS OF ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS (PAID)

Andrew J. Allen—Secretary, Associated Employers of Indianapolis.

Harry F. Atwood—Lawyer, Chicago.

Albert F. Barnes—American Citizenship Foundation.

Major Richard A. Charles—Executive-Secretary, American Defense Society, New York City.

Ralph M. Easley—Chairman, Executive Council, National Civic Federation, New York City.

Mrs. Ralph M. Easley—Secretary, Executive Council, National Civic Federation, New York City.

Edward H. Hunter—Secretary, Industrial Defense Association, Boston.

Joseph Joplin—Secretary, Better America Federation, Los Angeles, Cal.

H. A. Jung—Secretary, National Clay Products Association, Chicago, Ill.

Mary Kilbreth—Publisher of the *Woman Patriot*, Washington, D. C.

Etta V. Leighton—Secretary of the Educational Department, National Security League, New York City.

William Frew Long—Managing Director, American Plan Association, Cleveland, Ohio.

J. Robert O'Brien—New York City, organizer of new patriotic societies for profit; works occasionally for National Security League.

Hermine Schwed—Field secretary, National Association for Constitutional Government.

R. M. Whitney—Secretary, Washington office, American Defense Society, deceased; newspaper man.

OFFICERS OF ORGANIZATION (UNPAID)

Mrs. John Balch—Massachusetts Branch, Sentinels of the Republic.

Dwight D. Braman—Stock broker, head of the Allied Patriotic Societies, New York City.

Jacob S. Cash—Former City Marshal, founder of the United States Patriotic Society

Joseph T. Cashman—Lawyer, New York City, representing at various times the National Security League and Women Builders of America.

Harry M. Haldeman—Business man, Los Angeles, President of Better America Federation.

Solomon Stanwood Menken—Lawyer, former president of the National Security League, New York City.

Charles S. Moore—Industrial Defense Association, Boston, Mass.

Mrs. George E. Owens—President of the Government Club, New York City.

Condé B. Pallen—Head of Department on Subversive Movements, National Civic Federation, New York City.

Mrs. Noble Newport Potts—Head of the National Patriotic Council, Washington, D. C., society woman.

Archibald E. Stevenson—Lawyer, chairman Free Speech Committee, National Civic Federation, New York City.

Mrs. William Cummings Story—Head of the Women Builders of America, New York City, society woman.

Joseph B. Strauss—Head of American Citizenship Foundation.

Henry A. Wise Wood—Lawyer, New York City.

ARMY, NAVY AND RESERVE OFFICERS OR PERSONS CONNECTED WITH THE ARMY AND NAVY

Brigadier-General Albert J. Bowley.

Brigadier-General William H. Bixby, retired.

Major-General Robert Lee Bullard, retired.

Captain George L. Darte, Adjutant, Military Order World War.

Major-General Amos A. Fries, Chief of Chemical Warfare Service.

Major-General Eli A. Helmick, Inspector General, U. S. Army.

Colonel George Chase Lewis, Infantry.

Lieutenant John G. McNutt, Reserve Officers' Association.

Colonel Hanford MacNider, Assistant Secretary of War.

Lucia Ramsey Maxwell, Librarian, Chemical Warfare Service and Chairman, Americanization Committee, League of American Pen Women.

Rear Admiral William Adger Moffett, Chief of Aeronautics.

Colonel William M. Mumm, President Mumm-Romer Advertising Agency.

General John J. Pershing, retired.

Major B. F. Ristine, Infantry.

Lieutenant-Colonel H. H. Sheets, Infantry.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lee Alexander Stone, Chemical Warfare Reserve.

Major General Charles P. Summerall.

Colonel Grosvenor L. Townsend, Infantry.

Major General Peter E. Traub.

ATTACKED

MEN AND WOMEN IN PUBLIC OFFICE

Grace Abbott—Present head of the U. S. Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.

William E. Borah—Senator, Idaho.

Smith W. Brookhart—Senator, Iowa.
Lynn J. Frazier—Senator, North Dakota.
Francis Fisher Kane—Lawyer, Philadelphia.
William Kent—Former Congressman, California.
Julia C. Lathrop—Former head of the U. S. Children's Bureau, Rockford, Ill.
Fiorella H. LaGuardia—Congressman, New York City.
Robert M. LaFollette—Senator, Wisconsin.
George W. Norris, Senator, Nebraska.
Jeannette Rankin—Vice-Chairman American Civil Liberties Union, former Congresswoman, Montana.
Hendrick Shipstead—Senator, Minnesota.
William E. Sweet—Former Governor of Colorado.
Burton K. Wheeler—Senator, Montana.

RADICALS AND LABOR LEADERS

Mrs. Harriott Stanton Blatch—Active in Socialist Party and women's progressive movements, New York.
John Brophy—President, United Mine Workers. District No. 2, Pennsylvania.
Louis Budenz—Editor of *Labor Age,* New York City.
August Claessens—Socialist Party, New York City.
Eugene V. Debs—Deceased, former Chairman of Socialist Party.
John Fitzpatrick—President, Chicago Federation of Labor.
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn—Chairman International Labor Defense, New York City.
William Z. Foster—Secretary, Trade Union Educational League, Chicago.
Benjamin Gitlow—Workers Party, New York City.
William Green—President, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Max S. Hayes—Editor, *Cleveland Citizen,* International Typographical Union.

Sidney Hillman—President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York City.

Morris Hillquit—Lawyer, New York City.

William H. Johnston—Former president, International Association of Machinists, Washington, D. C.

"Mother" Jones—Formerly organizer for the United Mine Workers.

Dr. Harry W. Laidler—Director, League for Industrial Democracy, New York City.

Jay Lovestone—Workers Party, Chicago.

James H. Maurer—President, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

A. J. Muste—Dean of Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y.

Scott Nearing—Economist, author and lecturer, New York City.

C. E. Ruthenberg—(Deceased), Secretary, Workers Party, Chicago.

Rose Schneiderman—President Womans Trade Union League, New York City.

Upton Sinclair—Author, Pasadena, Cal.

Rose Pastor Stokes—Member of Workers Party, New York City.

Charlotte Anita Whitney—Social worker, Oakland, Cal.

FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS

Mrs. J. Sergeant Cram—New York City, active in peace organizations.

Mrs. Kate Crane Gartz—Altadena, Cal.

Elisabeth Gilman—Baltimore, Md.

Prynce Hopkins—Formerly of California, now residing in Europe.

Mrs. Agnes Brown Leach—New York City.
Frances C. Lillie—Chicago.
Mrs. Fanny Bixby Spencer—California.
Mrs. Willard Straight (now Mrs. Leonard Elmhirst)—New York City, now residing abroad.
Mrs. Henry Villard—head of Woman's Peace Party, New York City.
E. C. Wentworth—Business man, connected with International Labor Defense, Chicago.

MINISTERS, LAWYERS, EDITORS, SOCIAL WORKERS, WRITERS AND COLLEGE PROFESSORS—FOR PERSONAL VIEWS

Jane Addams—Hull House, Chicago.
Brent Dow Allinson—Active in peace and youth movements, Ravinia, Ill.
Emily Greene Balch—Former International Secretary, Woman's International League, Boston.
Prof. Charles A. Beard—Formerly of Columbia University, New York City.
Rev. Bernard Iddings Bell—Head of Saint Stephens College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y.
Prof. S. P. Breckinridge—University of Chicago.
Bishop Charles H. Brent—Episcopal Bishop of Western New York.
Bishop William Montgomery Brown—Former Episcopal Bishop of Arkansas, Galion, Ohio.
Prof. Arthur W. Calhoun—Teacher, Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y.
Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Jr.—Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. Henry Sloane Coffin—Head of Union Theological Seminary, New York City.
H. W. L. Dana—Teacher, Cambridge, Mass.

Clarence Darrow—Lawyer, Chicago.

Prof. Jerome Davis—Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.

Prof. John Dewey—Columbia University, New York City.

Sherwood Eddy—Secretary for Asia, National Council of Y.M.C.A., New York City.

Dr. John Lovejoy Elliott—Head of Hudson Guild, teacher, Ethical Culture School, New York City.

Sara Bard Field—Writer, California.

John A. Fitch—Teacher, New York School of Social Work, New York City.

Raymond B. Fosdick—Attorney, Curtis, Fosdick & Belknap, New York City.

Prof. Felix Frankfurter—Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.

Prof. Ernst Freund—University of Chicago Law School.

Zona Gale—Author, Portage, Wis.

Lewis S. Gannett—Associate editor of *The Nation,* New York City.

Dr. Alice Hamilton—Professor, Harvard Medical School, Boston, Mass.

Arthur Garfield Hays—Lawyer, New York City.

Rev. John Haynes Holmes—Minister of Community Church, New York City.

Frederic C. Howe—Former Commissioner of Immigration, New York City.

Inez Haynes Irwin—Author, New York City.

Will Irwin—Author, New York City.

James Weldon Johnson—Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York City.

Dr. David Starr Jordan—President Emeritus, Stanford University, Cal.

Helen Keller—Writer and Lecturer, Forest Hills, Long Island, N. Y.

Mrs. Florence Kelley—Secretary, the National Consumers' League, New York City.

Paul U. Kellogg—Editor of the *Survey,* New York City.

Susan M. Kingsbury—Prof. Bryn Mawr College, Pa.

Freda Kirchwey—Managing Editor of *The Nation,* New York City.

Dr. George W. Kirchwey—Former Dean of Columbia Law School, now of New York School of Social Work, New York City.

Winthrop D. Lane—Writer, New York City.

Porter Lee—Director, New York School of Social Work, New York City.

Walter Lippmann—Editor, New York *World.*

Prof. Robert Morss Lovett—University of Chicago; Chairman, League for Industrial Democracy.

H. N. MacCracken—President, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Lucia Ames Mead—Active in peace movements, Boston, Mass.

Rev. John Howard Melish—Minister, Trinity Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Fremont Older—Editor, San Francisco, Cal.

Allen S. Olmsted, 2nd—Lawyer, Philadelphia, active in Civil Liberties work; member of American Legion.

Prof. Harry A. Overstreet—Teacher, City College, New York City.

Amos Pinchot—Active in progressive movements, New York City.

Roscoe Pound—Dean, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.

Rev. John Herman Randall—Minister, Community Church, New York City.

Mrs. Raymond Robins—Former head of Womans Trade Union League, Chicago.

Father John A. Ryan—Director, Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Council, Washington, D. C.

Prof. Vida D. Scudder—Wellesley College, Mass.

Dr. M. Carey Thomas—President Emeritus, Bryn Mawr College, Pa.

Wilbur K. Thomas—Secretary, American Friends' Service Committee (Quakers), Philadelphia, Pa.

Oswald Garrison Villard—Editor and publisher of *The Nation,* New York City.

Mary Heaton Vorse—Author, New York City.

Lillian D. Wald—Head of Henry Street Settlement, New York City.

Frank P. Walsh—Lawyer, New York City and Kansas City, Mo.

George P. West—Writer, San Francisco, Cal.

William Allen White—Editor, *Emporia Gazette,* Emporia, Kan.

Mary Winsor—Active in peace movements, Philadelphia, Pa.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise—Rabbi of the Free Synagogue, New York City.

OFFICIALS OF ORGANIZATIONS

Roger N. Baldwin—Director, American Civil Liberties Union, conscientious objector, imprisoned during the war.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt—President, International Woman Suffrage Alliance, New York City.

John S. Codman—Consulting engineer, Boston representative of American Civil Liberties Union.

Dorothy Detzer—National Secretary, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Washington, D. C.

J. A. H. Hopkins—Active in progressive politics, former chairman of Committee of 48, New York City.

Hannah Clothier Hull—Executive Board, Woman's International League, Philadelphia, Pa.

Bishop Paul Jones—Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York City, former Episcopal Bishop of Utah.

Isabelle Kendig—Washington representative, American Civil Liberties Union.

Frederick J. Libby—Executive Secretary, National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C.

Owen R. Lovejoy, former secretary of National Child Labor Committee, New York City.

Benjamin C. Marsh—Director, Farmers' National Council, Washington, D. C.

Maude Wood Park—National President, League of Women Voters, Washington, D. C.

George D. Pratt, Jr.—Active in National Student Forum, New York City.

Rev. John Nevin Sayre—Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York City.

Helen Phelps Stokes—Treasurer, American Civil Liberties Union.

Rev. Norman Thomas—Director, League for Industrial Democracy, New York City.

Carl D. Thompson—Secretary, Public Ownership League of America, Chicago.

Dr. James P. Warbasse—President, Coöperate League of America, New York City.

Rev. Harry F. Ward—Professor, Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; Chairman, American Civil Liberties Union.

L. Hollingsworth Wood—Lawyer and Quaker, New York City.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. A LIST OF SOME TYPICAL PUBLICATIONS OF PROFESSIONAL PATRIOTISM

(Number of pages, in some cases, indicated by numerals. Comments by editor in italics.)

AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY

"Back to Barbarism," by R. M. Whitney. 24, *An Essay on how Reds are rousing Negroes to revolution.*

"National Defense." *Composite of Extracts from Pershing's Lips.* 8, *Americanism, Preparedness, War Coming, Citizenship.*

"Are Radical Activities Weakening American Institutions?" Addresses by Martin Littleton and O. L. Smith. 28, *Assaults on civil liberties and public ownership.*

"The Revolution Against American Government." 28, *Mr. Littleton attempting to tie the late Senator LaFollette to Moscow.*

"The Reds in America," by R. M. Whitney. 24, also book with same title. Beckwith Press, New York City.

"The Truth About the Lusk Anti-Sedition Laws." Sheet form.

"The Red, or the Red, White and Blue," by Rev. John Brittan Clark, 8.

"Peace at Any Old Price," by R. M. Whitney, 36.

"Gompers Demands Truth on Soviet." Circular.

"Something for Uncle, Please." Christmas folders, used in finance campaign.

"A Rising or a Setting Sun?" by Hon. James M. Beck, 16.

"What Bolshevism Did to the Doyles." Sheet form.

"The Reds and Labor Unions." by R. M. Whitney. Sheet form.

"The U. S. Needs Selective Rather Than Restrictive Immigration," by Franklin Remington, 4.

"Who Is Your Boss?" by Charles Larned Robinson, 7.

"Who Shall Inherit the Land of Our Fathers?" by Henry A. Wise Wood, 24.

"LaFollette—Socialism—Communism," 62.

"Radicals Urge Red Rule Here." Reprint from the *Sun* and *Globe.*

"Some Red Activity in New York, August-September, 1925," *an attack on the Anti-Fascisti Alliance of North America,* 15.

"What Is the American Civil Liberties Union?" 1926. *Shows how the A.C.L.U. helped the strikers at Passaic in matters of labor defense,* 12.

"Subversive Minorities in America," by Major Eli A. Helmick. *Attacks on radicals and civil liberties organizations,* 16.

NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE

"A Square Deal for the Public." A working program for crushing the radical menace, 12.

"A Voice in the Wilderness." "The National Security League is a voice in the wilderness fighting for America against the many organizations engaged in actively opposing the things for which the Republic stands"; *lists* 108 *of them;* 1.

"The Spirit of America." *Address by Mr. S. Stanwood Menken on the Constitution.*

"Your Country Is Asleep! Are you?" "Lenin fixed 1927 as the date for the proletarian revolution here."

"The Constitution of the United States, Yesterday, To-day and To-morrow?" by James M. Beck. Special Security League edition, 288.

"A Catechism of the Constitution of the United States," by H. L. West. *In the distribution of which Dr. Frank Crane rendered "splendid coöperation."*

"America Asleep, The Menace of Radicalism," by J. T. Cashman, 19.

"Give the Constitution a Chance," by J. T. Cashman.

"Borah and LaFollette and the Supreme Court of the United States," by Charles Warren, former assistant attorney general of the United States, 15.

"Shall LaFollette Nullify the Election?" S. S. Menken.

NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION

"The War Against Patriotism," by Mr. Easley. *Attacks church liberals, Christian pacifists, and others Whom, he claims, are undermining us.*

"Questions for Every Good American to Consider." *Churches and social agencies are packed with pinks. What shall we do?* 1.

"Why the Russia Soviets Should Not Be Recognized," *Why America's Russian Policy Should Be Maintained, and several others in the same key, inspired by Boris Brazol and Mr. Easley's Kolchak advisers,* 2.

"The Youth Movement. Do We Want It Here?" *Complete exposé of this "immoral movement,"* 59.

"Symposium of Opinion Upon the Outline of History by H. G. Wells." *Shows Mr. Wells to be a radical, with quotations from professors.*

AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL ASSOCIATION

"The Truth About West Virginia." *Signed by the American Constitutional Association but issued by the Raleigh Smokeless Powder Company of Beckley, West Virginia, and also by the Superior Supply Company of Bluefield,* 8.

"Do You Live in a Penitentiary?" *An appropriate question but addressed not to the non-union miners but to the business citizens of West Virginia,* 1.

"West Virginia, Wake Up!" *Classifies Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Father John D. Ryan as "bolsheviks."*

"Better America Federation of California" (formerly Commercial Federation of California).

"Are You an American or?" *Anti-Bolshevik,* folder.

"The Colonial Character." *Extolling the virtues of our recent Republican presidents,* 16.

"Behind the Veil." *Sure-fire money-raiser in Rotary and women's clubs,* 8.

"Making Socialists Out of College Students." *Lays bare the radical tendencies of dozens of professors,* 24.

"Fill the Jails." *Reproducing an I.W.W. appeal,* 8.

"What the Federal Constitution Does for the Citizen," by Henry A. Wise Wood.

"America's Youth and the Reds." Reprint from American Legion Weekly, *with liberal quotes from Wm. J. Burns on reds,* 4.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

"Confessions of an Erstwhile Parlor Socialist," by Hermine Schwed.

"Playing With Fire." *A talk to the young people of America warning them against the fire of parlor socialism,* 16.

UNITED STATES PATRIOTIC SOCIETY

"Whither America?—The Menace to Americanism and How to Overcome It." *Long quotes from Trotsky and parallel column contrasts of the "American" and the "Communist" idea,* 22.

"What America Means to Me," by Jacob Cash. *Harmless story of rise of a Jewish Horatio Alger from the Warsaw Ghetto to the founder of another patriotic organization,* 129.

NATIONAL FOUNDERS' ASSOCIATION

"Open Shop Review." Reprints, 35.

"The Red Trail in America," by Jacob Spolansky. *Former Department of Justice spy,* 35.

"Some Facts About the 'Red' Movement and What It Means to America." *Catechism on reds, bolshevism, youth movement and the Third International, taken from the Textbook of the Citizenship Training Course, Citizens' Military Training Camp, Camp Custer, Michigan,* 11.

FRED R. MARVIN, KEY MEN OF AMERICA

"Ye Shall Know the Truth," *more attacks on Jane Addams, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Garland Fund and Winthrop D. Lane,* 93.

"Are These Your Friends?" *Same sort of material.*
"Underground With the Reds.—*Ditto.*
"Bootlegging Mind Poison."—*Ditto.*
"My Country 'Tis of Thee."—*Ditto.*

B. A FEW ARTICLES ON PROFESSIONAL PATRIOTS

1. Sidney Howard, "Our Professional Patriots," 5 articles, *New Republic,* Aug. 20, Sept. 3, 10, 17 and 24, 1924.
2. Leonard Cline, "The War on the Peace Seekers," 2 articles, *New Republic,* July 2 and 9, 1924.
3. Leonard Cline, Special Articles on War Department, New York *World,* Department connections with professional patriots, June 7, 8, 9, 1924.
4. Will Irwin, "This Gentleman Worries Too Much," *Hearst's International,* September, 1924 (*devoted to Mr. Easley*).
5. Will Irwin, "Patriotism That Pays," *The Nation,* Nov. 12, 1924.
6. Robert W. Dunn, "Meet Mr. Easley—Plutocrat Patriot." *Locomotive Engineers' Journal,* July, 1926.

INDEX

A

Abbott, Grace, 90; 196
Addams, Jane, 103; 109; 110; 114; 115; 117; 161; 169; 172; 176; 178; 199
Afflick, Benjamin F., 160
Allen, Andrew J., 139; 193
Allied Patriotic Societies, 5; 10; 85; 96; 102; 132; 152; 153; 181-184
Allinson, Brent Dow, 60; 199
Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 14
American Association of University Women, 119; 126; 161; 172; 179
American Bankers Association, 139
American Citizen, 88; 160
American Citizenship Foundation, 5; 9; 27; 88; 153; 159-162
American Civil Liberties Union, 60; 72; 115; 124; 139; 151; 155; 162; 175; 178-179; 184; 189
American Committee for the Relief of Russian Children, 14
American Constitutional Association, 5; 9; 24; 34-36; 81-82; 88; 134; 153; 174-176
American Defense Society, 5; 8; 18; 19; 23-24; 30-31; 40; 45; 51-56; 68-72; 86-87; 90; 95, 96; 106; 124; 132-133; 138; 152; 153; 158; 189
American Federation of Labor, 15; 62; 89; 100; 102; 134; 135; 140; 141; 142; 157; 179
American Federation of Teachers, 125
American Federation Week, 98
American Federationist, 89
American Legion, 3; 12; 42; 43; 56-63; 96; 124; 139; 147; 151; 167; 182; 187; 188
American Plan Association of Cleveland, 138; 139
American Protective League, 187
Americanization Fund, 26
Army and Navy Journal, 89; 93; 94; 116; 118; 128
Army and Navy Register, 128
Associated Employers of Indianapolis, 138; 139
Associated Industries of New York State, 137; 139
Associated Industries of Tacoma, 138
Association to Abolish War, 125
Association for Peace Education, 125
Atherton, Lewis, 139
Atwood, Harry F., 64; 153; 186; 194

B

Bacon, Robert, 133
Baker, Mrs. Henry Fenimore, 119
Baker, Newton D., 109
Balch, Emily Greene, 199
Balch, Mrs. John, 170; 194
Baldwin, Faith, 74
Baldwin, Roger N., 57; 178; 202
Barnes, Albert F., 194
Barr, William H., 10; 139
Beard, Prof. Charles A., 171; 199
Beck, James M., 49; 52; 78; 150; 193
Bell, Rev. Bernard Iddings, 15; 149; 199
Belmont, August, 45; 134
Berkeley Divinity School, 179
Bernard, Frances F., 119
Berry, George L., 62
Better America Federation of Los Angeles, 5; 7; 9; 16-20; 24; 26-27; 32; 33-34; 39; 40; 43; 57; 59; 63; 67; 78; 80-81; 96; 133-134; 145; 146; 153; 173-174
Better Schools Committee of Citizens and Teachers of Los Angeles, 64
Bisbee, General William H., 180; 195
Black, Rev. Dr. Henry Campbell, 78; 168
Black, Col. Roger D., 172
Blanton, Congressman Thomas L., 124; 130; 193
Borah, Senator William E., 115; 196
Boston Transcript, 87
Bowley, Brig. Gen. Albert J., 116; 118; 195
Boy Scouts of America, 51
Brady, Nicholas F., 135; 192
Brady, Peter J., 143
Braman, Dwight D., 10; 102; 132; 153; 181-184; 194

INDEX

Brandeis, Justice Louis D., 1
Brandeis, Mrs. Louis D., 117
Brasol, Boris, 47
Breckinridge, Prof. S. P., 199
Brent, Bishop Charles H., 15; 199
Brick and Clay Workers of America, United, 163
British Labor Party, Attacks on, 143
Brookhart, Smith W., 197
Brophy, John, 114; 197
Brown, Franklin, 132
Brown, Bishop William Montgomery, 199
Budenz, Louis, 197
Builders Exchange of San Francisco, 92; 139
Building Trades Employers' Association of New York City, 137
Bullard, Major General, R. L., 30; 41; 42; 151; 155; 195
Burns, William J., 11; 40; 51; 85; 97-102; 157; 158; 159; 183; 193
Bryn Mawr College, 179; 181; 182

C

Calhoun, Prof. Arthur W., 199
California Commission on Immigration and Housing, 26
Cardway, Col. Fred, 126
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 124
Cash, Jacob S., 10; 88; 153; 185-186; 195
Cashman, Joseph T., 49; 138; 151; 187; 195
Catt, Mrs. Carrie Chapman, 114; 115; 117; 172; 203
Cease, D. L., 142
Chafee, Prof. Zechariah, Jr., 199
Charles, Major Richard A., 52; 194
Chemical Warfare Reserve, 92
Chemical Warfare Service of the War Department, 103; 105; 113
Chicago Tribune, 89
Child Labor Amendment, Opposition to, 20; 37; 90; 169; 170
Chlopek, Anthony J., 142
Church Peace Organizations, 13
Church Peace Union, 125
Citizens Alliance of Minneapolis, 138
Citizens Alliance of St. Paul, 92; 139
Citizens' Military Training Camps, 115
Civil Legion, 5; 138; 153; 187-188
Claessens, August, 197
Clark, E. P., 147
Cline, Leonard, 116-119
Coan, Blair, 88
Codman, John S., 203
Coffin, Rev. Henry Sloane, 14; 199
Coleman, McAlister, 87
Columbia University, 181
Conboy, Mrs. Sara, 142
Comerford, Frank, 153; 187; 192
Commercial Federation of California, 133; 173
Committee of 48, 86
Committee on Militarism in Education, 120; 122
Committee to Outlaw War, 125
Communist Party, 13; 31; 38; 40; 49; 54; 58; 68; 69; 70; 71; 73; 74; 75; 80; 86; 87; 91; 92; 93; 117; 118; 119; 145; 171; 179
Constitutional Anniversary Association of Chicago, 5; 151; 153; 186
Constitutional Review, 168
Contributors to "Patriotic" Organizations, 21-36
Coolidge, Pres. Calvin, 6; 66; 89; 98; 165
Coolidge, Louis A., 17; 18; 45; 95; 169
Coudert, Frederick H., 133
Cram, Mrs. J. Sergeant, 198
Cyril, Grand Duke, 48

D

Dana, H. W. L., 199
Darrow, Clarence, 200
Darte, Captain G. A., 172; 196
Daugherty, Harry M., 11; 97; 99; 101; 106; 193
Daughters of 1812, 114
Daughters of the American Revolution, 12; 59; 124; 139; 169; 172
Davis, Dwight F., 121
Davis, Prof. Jerome, 48; 200
Dawes, William R., 160; 192
Dean, Charles Ray, 168
Dearborn Independent, 89; 106
Debs, Eugene V., 6; 59; 66; 80; 144; 162; 199
De Leon, Daniel, 144
Delineator, 89; 98
Denby, Edward, 193
Detzer, Dorothy, 203
Dewey, Prof. John, 115; 200
Dodge, Henry Irving, 77
Dotey, Aaron L., 193
Duncan, James, 142
Duncan, James A., 61
Du Pont, T. Coleman, 135; 192

E

Easley, Ralph M., 13-16; 38; 45; 47; 48; 82; 83; 84; 89; 98; 99; 100; 102; 112; 134-139; 142; 143; 144; 149; 150; 156; 157; 194

INDEX

Eddy, Sherwood, 130
Edwards, General Clarence P., 180
Eichelberger, J. S., 10; 90; 193
Eliot, Pres. Charles William, 1; 14; 72
Elliott, Dr. John Lovejoy, 200
Emery, James A., 90
Employers Association of Detroit, 138
Employers Association of Jackson, Michigan, 92; 139

F

Fall, Albert, 193
Fallon, Bernard J., 161
Farmers Non-Partisan League, 58
Fascists, 55
Fascist Alliance of North America, 189
Federal Aid Maternity Act, Opposition to, 169; 170
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 83
Federated Women's Clubs, 152
Federation Bank of New York, 143
Feeney, Frank, 142
Fellowship of Reconciliation, 113; 125
Fellowship of Youth for Peace, 57; 59; 177
Field, Sara Bard, 200
Fish, Hamilton, 63
Fiske, Haley, 155
Fitch, John A., 200
Fitzpatrick, John, 197
Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley, 197
Folds, Charles W., 159
Ford, Henry, 89
Foreign Policy Association, 83; 179
Fosdick, Raymond B., 14; 200
Foss, George Edmund, 159
Foster, William Z., 6; 31; 61; 80; 179; 197
Frank, Eva, 87
Frankfurter, Felix, 61; 200
Frayne, Hugh, 142
Frazier, Lynn J., 197
Freund, Prof. Ernst, 200
Fries, Amos L., 11; 103; 119; 166; 167; 196

G

Gale, Zona, 200
Gannett, Lewis S., 200
Gartz, Mrs. Kate Crane, 198
Gary, Elbert H., 6; 23; 24; 25; 134; 175; 192
General Federation of Women's Clubs, 104
Gilman, Elisabeth, 198
Gitlow, Benjamin, 111; 197
Goldman, Emma, 162
Gompers, Samuel, 6; 38; 45; 62; 99; 100; 102; 140; 142; 145; 157
Government Club, 10; 152; 159; 188; 189
Grand Army of the Republic, 124
Granoff, Leo, 50
Green, William, 141; 197

H

Haldeman, H. M., 133; 146; 147; 173; 195
Hamilton, Dr. Alice, 200
Hammond, John Hays, 149; 192
Harris, H. B., 133
Harvey, E. L., 155
Hayes, Prof. Carleton J. H., 172
Hays, Arthur Garfield, 87; 200
Healey, Timothy, 143
Helmick, Major General Eli A., 114; 166; 188; 196
Hemphill, Alexander J., 132
Henderson, Arthur, 40
Hendrick W. S., 115
Hibben, President John G., 117
Hibben, Captain Paxton, 14; 87
Hichborn, Franklin, 26; 27
Hill, Dr. David Jayne, 17; 78; 168
Hillman, Sidney, 198
Hillquit, Morris, 144; 198
Holland, James, 142
Holmes, Rev. John Haynes, 14; 178; 200
Holt, Hamilton, 72
Hooker, Elon H., 23; 24; 45; 95; 132; 135; 158; 159; 192
Hopkins, Ernest J., 134
Hopkins, Pres. Ernest M., 2
Hopkins, J. A. H., 86; 87; 203
Hopkins, Prynce, 198
Hough, Emerson, 46
Howard, Sidney, 101
Howe, Frederic C., 200
Hughes, Charles Evans, 111
Hull, Hannah Clothier, 203
Hunter, Edward H., 194

I

Indiana Council on International Relations, 126
Industrial Defense Association, 9; 57; 59; 153; 176-180
Industrial Digest, 180
Industrial Progress, 11; 89; 101; 139
Industrial Welfare Legislation, Opposition to, 20; 37
Industrial Workers of the World, 17; 32; 33; 40; 64; 65; 69; 72; 100; 149; 174
Intercollegiate Peace Association, 125

INDEX

Interior Department, of U. S., 184
International Association of Machinists, 140
International Ladies Garment Workers Union, 134; 141
International Longshoremen's Association, 142
Interparliamentary Union, 179
Irwin, Will, 15; 200

J

Johnson, Congressman Albert F., 193
Johnson, James Weldon, 200
Johnston, William H., 198
Jones, Mother, 198
Jones, Bishop Paul, 109; 203
Jordan, Dr. David Starr, 109; 201
Jung, H. A., 139; 162; 163; 164; 194
Justice Department, of U. S., 181

K

Kahn, Otto, 165
Kane, Francis Fisher, 197
Kansas City Employers' Association, 138
Karolyi, Count Michael, 171
Karolyi, Countess Catherine, 40
Keller, Helen, 201
Kelley, Florence, 201
Kellogg, Frank B., 41
Kellogg, Paul U., 201
Kendig, Isabelle, 203
Kent, William, 20; 197
Keough, Michael, J., 142
Key Men of America, 90 (note); 91; 139
Kilbreth, Mary, 88; 103; 194
Kingsbury, Prof. Susan M., 201
Kirchwey, Freda, 201
Kirchwey, Prof. George W., 109; 201
Kolchak, Admiral, 48
Kreisler, Fritz, 59
Ku Klux Klan, 3; 12; 42; 43; 164

L

Labor Officials, Connected with National Civic Federation, 140-145
La Follette Movement, Opposition to, 37; 39; 87; 91; 138
La Follette, Robert, 38; 54
La Guardia, Fiorella H., 197
Laidler, Harry W., 198
Lane, Winthrop D., 114; 130; 201
Larkin, James, 111
Lathrop, Julia, 90; 117; 197
Lavenson, A. S., 65; 192
Law and Order Sunday, 184
Law and Order Union of New York, 181
League for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, 179
League for Industrial Democracy, 116; 124; 125; 129; 130; 139; 187
League for Industrial Rights, 137
League for the Protection of Property Rights, 137
Lee, Ivy L., 48
Lee, Porter, 201
Lee, W. G., 142
Leigh, Randolph, 147
Leighton, Etta V., 49; 51; 194
Lenin, Nicolai, 162
Lewis, Col. George Chase, 120; 121; 139; 196
Lewis, Henry Harrison, 10; 89; 101; 193
Libby, Frederick J., 41; 42; 59; 117; 119; 127; 172; 203
Lindsey, Judge Ben, 90

Lippmann, Walter, 201
Littleton, Martin W., 54; 193
Lockwood, George B., 88; 193
Long, William Frew, 138; 194
Lord's Day Alliance, 152
Los Angeles Times, 174
Lovejoy, Owen R., 203
Lovestone, Jay, 198
Lovett, Robert Morss, 124; 201
Lowell, President A. Lawrence, 117
Lusk, Clayton R., 107
Lusk Committee, 11; 107; 113; 116; 156; 183
Lusk Laws, see Lusk Committee

M

MacCracken, Pres. Henry N., 48; 201
MacNider, Col. Hanford, 114; 196
Macy, V. Everit, 23
Mahon, William D., 142
Maloney, James, 142
Manufacturers' Record, 138-139
Marsh, Benjamin C., 203
Marshall, Thomas R., 6
Marvin, Fred R., 10; 18; 60; 87; 90; 91; 92; 93; 94; 115; 116; 118; 130; 137; 138; 139; 164; 193
Massachusetts Public Interests League, 9; 59; 176
Maurer, James H., 114; 198
Maxwell, Lucia R., 11; 103-106; 196
Mayflower Descendants, 182
McCormick, Cyrus H., 14
McMahon, Thomas F., 142
McNutt, John G., 127; 128; 196
Mead, Lucia Ames, 172; 201
Meadville Theological School, 179

INDEX

Melish, Rev. John Howard, 201
Menken, Solomon Stanwood, 40; 51; 73; 74; 132; 154; 155
Mexico, 167
Military Intelligence Association of the Sixth Corps Area, Chicago, 5; 9; 12; 92; 172; 175-176
Military Intelligence Division of the War Department, 108; 109; 122
Military Order of the World War, 5; 12; 59; 152; 153; 169; 171-173; 189
Military Training Camps Association, 115; 121
Mills, Ogden L., 135
United Mine Workers of America, 134; 140; 141; 142
Minnesota Employers' Association, 137
Minor, Robert, 162
Mitchell, John J. Jr., 160; 192
Moffett, William A., 161; 166; 196
Moore, Charles S., 195
Morgan, William Fellows, 14
Moss, Col. James A., 164
Mumm, Col. William M., 113-114; 121; 196
Mussolini, Benito, 48; 61
Muste, A. J., 198
Mussey, Prof. Henry R., 146

N

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 179
National Association of Clothing Manufacturers, 137
National Association for Constitutional Government, 5; 21; 78; 153; 168-169
National Association of Manufacturers, 12; 48; 90; 137
National Bulletin of the Military Order of the World War, 169
National Catholic Welfare Conference, 15
National Child Labor Committee, 170
National Civic Federation, 5; 8; 14-16; 20; 23; 37; 38; 39; 44-48; 82-86; 90; 95; 98; 102; 112; 134-137; 140-145; 146-150; 152; 156-159
National Civic Federation Review, 89
National Clay Products Industries Association, 5; 12; 91; 96; 131; 139; 152; 161
National Council for the Prevention of War, 41; 100; 103; 104; 113; 117; 118; 119; 123; 125; 126; 127; 171
National Council for the Reduction of Armaments, 83
National Founders Association, 10; 12; 91; 96; 137; 138; 139
National Information Bureau, 21; 155; 168
National League of Women Voters, 103; 104; 119; 161
National Metal Trades Association, 10; 12; 138
National Patriotic Council, 5; 152; 166-167
National Republic, 88; 90 (note)
National Security League, 5; 8; 20; 21-23; 28; 29-30; 39-44; 49-51; 59; 73-77; 96; 124; 132; 139; 147; 150-156; 187
National Society of Scabbard and Blade, 130-131
National Student Forum, 71; 72; 83; 102; 125; 161; 187
National War Service Legion, 119
Navy League, 124; 137
Nearing, Scott, 48; 61; 198
New Masses, 188
New York City Board of Education, 181; 184
New York City Trades and Labor Council, 142
New York Commercial, 11; 18; 87; 88; 90-94; 114; 115; 118; 137-138; 188
New York State Chamber of Commerce, 137
Norris, Senator George W., 115; 197
Norton, Thomas James, 160

O

O'Brien, J. Robert, 49; 194
Older, Fremont, 201
Olmsted, Allen S., 2nd, 201
Open Shop Review, 11
Overstreet, Professor Harry A., 201
Owens, Mrs. George E., 10; 153; 159; 189; 196
Owsley, Alvin, 61; 62

P

Pacifists, Opposition to, 172
Pallen, Condé B., 46; 195
Palmer, Attorney General A. Mitchell, 11; 97; 99; 193
Park, Mrs. Maude Wood, 103; 105; 170; 203
Parker, Alton B., 95; 137
Parkhurst, Marian, 119
Passaic Strike (1926-1927) 48; 49; 63; 115
Patriot, 185
Patriotic Order Sons of America, 139
Pershing, General John J., 189
Piez, Charles, 193
Pinchot, Amos, 201

INDEX

Plunkett, Rear Admiral Charles P., 172
Potts, Mrs. Noble Newport, 166; 167; 168; 195
Pound, Roscoe, 202
Pratt, George D. Jr., 203
Progressive Party, 54

Q

Quakers, see Society of Friends
Quartermaster Review, 116; 129

R

Rand School of Social Science, 111
Randall, Rev. John Herman, 202
Rankin, Jeannette, 90; 197
Remington, Franklin, 24; 133; 192
Reserve Officer Bulletin of the United States Reserve Officers Association, 129
Reval, Count de, 189
Ristine, Major B. F., 41; 196
Robertson, David B., 142
Robins, Mrs. Raymond, 202
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 51
Root, Elihu, 124; 164
Ropp, Baroness de, 64
Royden, Rev. A. Maude, 83
Russian Famine Fund, 14
Russian People's House, 111
Ruthenberg, Charles E., 81; 48; 198
Ryan, Father John A., 15; 117; 118; 175; 202
Ryons, Col. Fred B., 121

S

Sargent, Attorney General John G., 128
Sargent, Noel, 48; 164
Sayre, John Nevin, 114; 120; 121; 203
Schneiderman, Rose, 61; 198
Schwed, Hermine A., 78; 169; 194
Schwimmer, Madam Rosika, 87; 176
Scudder, Prof. Vida D., 202
Sentinels of the Republic, 5; 10; 17; 18; 43; 95; 138; 153; 169-171
Sheets, Col. H. H., 118; 196
Shepard, Finley J., 23
Shepard, Mrs. Finley J., 23; 192
Sheppard, L. E., 142
Sims, Admiral William S., 6; 72
Sinclair, Upton, 72; 198
Smith, Governor Alfred E., 14; 183
Smith, Ethel, 119
Smith, Leroy F., 60; 61
Smith, Major Sidney L., 176
Socialists, 80; 92; 93
Society of Friends (Quakers) 41; 42; 90; 179
Sons of the American Revolution, 12; 124
South Carolina Cotton Manufacturers' Association, 137
Soviet Russia (see also Communists), 47
Spider Web Chart, 103-106; 119; 120
Standard Oil Company, 136
Steel Workers' Union, 145
Stevenson, Archibald E., 47; 107; 108; 109; 110; 112; 195
Stevie, J. O., 58
Stokes, Helen Phelps, 203
Stone, Attorney General Harlan F., 99
Stone, Lieut. Col. Lee Alexander, 196
Stone, Warren S., 142
Story, Mrs. William Cumming, 153; 188; 195
Straight, Mrs. Willard, 14; 199
Strauss, Joseph B., 159; 195
Sullivan, John, 142
Summerall, Major Gen. Charles P., 196
Sweet, ex-Governor William E., 115; 197

T

Taft, William Howard, 6
Taylor, John Thomas, 63
Taylor, Lloyd, 151
Teachers Union of New York, 74
Thomas, Dr. M. Carey, 149; 202
Thomas, Norman M., 116; 203
Thomas, Wilbur K., 202
Thompson, Carl D., 203
Tighe, M. F., 145
Tobin, Daniel J., 143
Townsend, Col. Grosvenor L., 41; 128; 196
Traub, Maj. Gen. Peter E., 196
Trevor, Captain, 108
Trotsky, Leon, 2

U

Union League Club of New York, 107; 108; 110
United Americans, 86
United Daughters of the Confederacy, 172
United States Brewers' Association, 137
United States Cavalry Association, 129
United States Flag Association, 5; 6; 10; 32-33; 79-80; 145; 153; 164-166; 172
United States Infantry Association, 129
United States Patriotic Society, 5; 10; 88; 153; 185-186

INDEX

United States Reserve Officers Association, 9; 12; 30; 59; 121-129
United States Steel Corporation, 135
University of the State of New York, 182
Utah Associated Industries, 153; 180; 181

V

Vanderbilt, William K., 192
Van der Water, Virginia Terhune, 77
Villard, Mrs. Henry G., 14
Villard, Oswald Garrison, 114; 202
Voll, John A., 143
Vorse, Mary Heaton, 202

W

Wade, Martin J., 147
Wadsworth, Senator James W., 89
Wald, Lillian D., 109; 202
Walsh, Frank P., 202
Walsh, Senator Thomas J., 128
War Department of U. S., 181; 182
Warbasse, Dr. James P., 204
Ward, Rev. Harry F., 48; 204
Wardwell, Allen, 14
Weekly News Letter of Better America Federation, 88
Weeks, John W., 105; 106; 119
Weisbord, Albert, 115
Wells, H. G., 15; 149
Welsh, Francis Ralston, 11; 164; 192
Wentworth, E. C., 199
West, George P., 202
Wetmore, Maude, 144
Wheeler, Senator Burton K., 89; 91; 197
White, William Allen, 117; 202
Whitney, Charlotte Anita, 198
Whitney, R. M., 11; 41; 42; 51; 54; 69; 70; 71; 72; 86; 102; 106; 120; 130; 138; 158; 194
Wilbur, Harry Curran, 131
Wilson, George, 58
Winsor, Mary, 202
Wise, Rabbi Stephen S., 202
Woll, Matthew, 142; 157
Woman Patriot, 11; 84; 85; 88; 89-90; 96; 103; 170
Woman's Trade Union League, 119
Women Builders of America, 5; 10; 114; 152; 153; 188
Women's Christian Temperance Union, 104; 125; 172
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 59; 83; 103; 113; 118; 125; 130
Women's Joint Congressional Committee, 103; 105
Women's Party, 169
Women's Peace Society, 125
Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere, 125
Wood, Henry A. Wise, 144; 195
Wood, L. Hollingsworth, 204
Workers' Education Bureau, 179
Workers Party, see Communists
World Peace Fellowship, 83
Wright, Chester M., 89

Y

Y. M. C. A., 40
Y. W. C. A., 96; 117; 172
Young Workers League, 50
Youth Movement, 71; 149

369
H21

RAYMOND H. FOGLER LIBRARY
DATE DUE

BOOKS ARE SUBJECT TO
RECALL AFTER TWO WEEKS

UNIV OF MAINE
3 7550 01022227 2